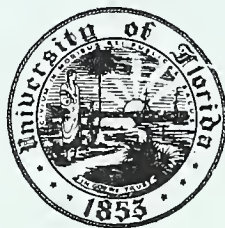


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No. 1.

THE RETREAT FROM PETERSBURG TO APPOMATTOX —PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS.*

JOSEPH PACKARD, Esq.

I assure you, gentlemen, that it wasn't without reluctance that I accepted the invitation which Dr. Welch and Mr. Haman gave me to say something about my recollections of some of the military incidents of the Civil War. This stupendous war which is being waged now all over the world is so different in scale and in methods from our war, that it is almost, as I said to Dr. Welch, like comparing the Wars of the Roses with our Civil War; and yet I took courage in remembering that, after all, it is the human element that counts and is of interest. You all know the wonderful talent that Dr. Gildersleeve has exhibited in culling things that are pertinent wherever in his wide range he comes across them, and I remember in one of his essays he quotes a verse of Kipling, which I think illustrates what I am saying.

Kipling is talking about the old biremes, the naval vessels of Roman times, with their two banks of oars, with the thranites on the upper row, and the thalamites on the bottom row, and he says:

“The thranites and the thalamites are pressures, low and high,
And where three hundred blades bit white, the twin propellers fly;
The god that hailed, the ship that sailed, are changed beyond recall,
But the robust and brass-bound man, he has not changed at all.”

* Informal address, delivered at the University Club, Baltimore, Friday night, January 11, 1918 (stenographically reported).

So, it is the human element that survives changes. I am not going to undertake to make any comparison of methods in the present war. I have, however, noticed statements in the papers that the carnage in the present war is much greater than it was in the Civil War. I am inclined to doubt that until we get the full evidence, because history shows that as weapons have advanced in destructiveness, the loss of life is less. In other words, where you have long-range weapons, one side or the other finds out sooner than formerly when it has to give up.

At the battle of Waterloo, where they had muskets with a range of about a hundred yards, the losses were much heavier proportionately than in any battles of our Civil War, as far as I remember; and, when you go back to Roman times, at the battle of Cannae, where Hannibal overthrew the Roman legions, the Roman casualties were ninety per cent. and all killed. There were no wounded in those times; it was fought to a finish. There was no occasion for a Medical Corps in those armies. There were 76,000 Romans engaged in that battle; about 6,000 of them got away, and the remaining 70,000 were killed. So as to comparisons of casualties, I am inclined to wait for fuller information.

Now, as the notice of this meeting states, these are personal recollections only of this retreat, and I am not going to discuss at all the movements of the armies, or the battles which they engaged in during the retreat, except as they came in my way. At that time, I wasn't in combatant service like my friend, Major Barton;¹ I was with one of the supply trains—an ordnance train—and you will see perhaps, before I get through, that in a military movement like that, even where people are engaged in that sort of capacity, their lives are not entirely without incident.

A few words may be necessary to explain my situation at the time and my opportunities for observation. I had been for about two years in the Rockbridge battery attached to the

¹ Major Randolph Barton, a member of the Club, who was present. He was formerly Adjutant General of the Stonewall Brigade.

brigade commanded by Jackson, and afterwards known as the "Stonewall Brigade," as private and non-commissioned officer. In June of 1863, when I was somewhat disabled by rheumatism, I had been detailed to the Reserve Ordnance Train, which was then in charge of Captain Garnett,² and shortly after that I was commissioned Acting Second Lieutenant by General Lee, under a power that he had. I had charge in that capacity of the whole detail of requisitions for stores and the issuing of them and matters of that sort. And so I continued with this Reserve Ordnance Train, when, in April, '64, the Chief of Ordnance in Richmond questioned the validity of my appointment and revoked it. After this I remained as a detailed man with the train, doing exactly the same duties, but with less pay, until I received a commission as Lieutenant of Artillery for ordnance duty in January of '65. During that time, there had been another Captain in charge after Captain Garnett, and in October, '64, my friend, Captain Colston,³ who is here, came to the train and was put in charge. After I got the commission of Lieutenant, he was made Assistant to the Chief of Ordnance and Disbursing Officer, while I was put in charge of the Reserve Ordnance Train. I was then twenty-two years old. The Ordnance Reserve Department, as it was called, consisted of the Reserve Ordnance Train; of the Field Park, in charge of another officer, which had artificers such as blacksmiths, armorers, wheelwrights, and harnessmakers, who were competent to make any ordinary repairs to the cannon and small arms, and the whole had a Quartermaster to attend to the movement of the train. My train consisted of forty-four wagons, carrying, for the most part, artillery ammunition. In the case of the infantry, ammunition was carried in the wagons of the brigades or divisions, and our train was entirely devoted to artillery ammunition, with the exception of one wagon carrying mining stores and out-of-the-way things, and two or three that were kept for cavalry ammunition, so as to be able to serve the cavalry in an emergency.

² Captain James M. Garnett, a deceased member of the Club.

³ Captain Frederick M. Colston, a member of the Club.

In my train, there were, as I have said, forty-four wagons; there were twelve of the Field Park and four forage wagons, making a train of sixty wagons in all; spread out on the road, it occupied nearly a half-mile of distance.

In October, 1864, we were about half way between Petersburg and Richmond, and the animals of the train had been used in mounting the heavy guns, under the direction of Captain Colston, on the James River defenses. We had to use very large teams to move the guns; my recollection is that one of those guns that we succeeded finally in mounting weighed fifteen tons, and we had to have forty mules to move it on a sling-cart, or carry-log, as the country people call it, that had been made for the purpose.

Late in the month of October, we moved to the camp which we occupied for nearly six months afterwards, about two and one-half miles north of Petersburg, between the Richmond Turnpike and the Woodpecker Road, near Brander's Bridge, over Swift Creek; there we were established in permanent quarters. We built a large log storehouse, in which we stored all the ammunition that the train carried. Besides that, we had some piles of mortar shells. We did this in order to keep our wagons free to go to Richmond.

There was but one line of railroad between Richmond and Petersburg, and like all the Southern railroads at that time, it was in very bad condition, and much overworked, and we therefore brought much ammunition down from Richmond by wagon. Then our wagons would go back to Richmond with any unexploded shells that the enemy fired at us, which were taken to the arsenal and reloaded and returned to the enemy with our compliments.

There was a good deal of activity all the time going on around us. There was a huge blacksmith shop a short distance away that had been put up, which was full of blacksmiths drawn from the ranks, making horseshoes; and activities of that sort were going on all the winter. We were well fixed in that camp. We had a couple of tents facing each other,

and a brick chimney in between, built with bricks taken from one of the houses in Petersburg that had been demolished by shell fire. Each tent had its own fireplace, and we really were quite comfortable, except that we were always hungry.

The food at that time was at a pretty low stage. I think there was a good deal of food about the country—I am sure there was—but the transportation system was so bad and so much broken down—almost entirely—that it was very difficult to get enough food for the army. The rations were of the simplest character—a quarter of a pound of bacon instead of the three-quarters of a pound which was the regular army ration of that day, and a pound of meal, or occasionally of flour, but never tea or coffee except on occasions of capture. They were not part of the ration for the last two or three years of the war, and all the other things that were then a part of the army ration, and there are still more now, were nonexistent. Our forage wagons had to scour the country at considerable range to get corn and fodder for the animals, and they would occasionally bring in some country vegetables or potatoes, or things of that sort, which helped some; but I should say we were pretty generally hungry. As is often the case with hungry people, it was quite common to talk about meals that we had in former days, and meals that we intended to have after this thing was over. Colston, being a Baltimore man, would tell about things he had had and places in Baltimore, “the gastronomic centre,” where you could get good things.

I remember I used to read with pleasure the description in the army regulations of the artillery uniforms, and picture to myself my splendid appearance wearing a helmet with a red horse tail in it, in place of the rather ragged hat I was wearing at the time. While we had those discomforts, I would not want you to think that were not very cheerful, for we enjoyed life very much, and there were a great many charming people still left in Petersburg, and we used to visit there a good deal. I remember that much singing went on at the various houses we visited, and the songs were generally very sentimental. One

I remember was "I Brought Thee An Ivy Leaf," in which a young man describes to his lady-love what he would have done. He would have brought her a rosebud, but, for reasons which seemed to him satisfactory, he had not; he would have brought her a lily, and so forth; and each verse would end, "So I brought thee an ivy leaf, only an ivy leaf." The last line was: "O! keep it forever, love, close to thy heart." It was really a most absurd sentimental song, and most of them are that way. To give you an idea of it, I will venture to quote, from a parody on it which I wrote for one of my friends who sang, a verse or two which sticks to me just as burrs stick. It is, as you will perceive, perfectly nonsensical, but, I assure you, not more nonsensical than "I Brought Thee An Ivy Leaf." It began, "I Brought Thee a Cabbage Head," and described the characteristics of the cabbage head, and following this:

"I'd have brought thee an artichoke, a Jerusalem artichoke,
But it would have blushed till its spirit was crushed,
And its beauty's fair presence to silence be hushed;
So I brought thee no artichoke,
No, nary artichoke."

"A cabbage head green, a crisp tender cabbage head,
Of friendship a test, it is one of the best;
O, keep it forever, love, locked in thy chest."

Many reasons will occur to you why the lady would not wish to keep it locked in her chest; among others, was the very high price of cabbage. In this talk, I have been able to revive my recollections largely from a memorandum book that I carried, in which I entered deliveries of ordnance stores and so on, and in the back of this book, where were entered our mess accounts, I find that a cabbage head was worth two dollars at that time.

There were other amusements. Colston used to get about a good deal, particularly when we worked on those heavy guns, and I may mention an adventure of which he told us. He had been invited out to supper at various places, and he wanted to return some of these civilities; so he invited a number of

young lady friends to go to an entertainment given at Chesterfield Court House, consisting of charades, tableaux, and things of that sort. There were no men present except army people, and very few of them. There were some boys and girls and all the young people and old people of the neighborhood there, and the show was under the charge of the old schoolmaster.

They went through the regular performance, and at the end, with an air of satisfaction, the schoolmaster came out and said, "Now, ladies and gentlemen, we will give the tableau of Venus and Adonis." You can imagine Colston's predicament. He was not unsophisticated—had been to picture galleries—and said to himself, "What will these girls think of me, bringing them to a place like this?" He was near enough to hear what was going on behind the scenes, and his terror was increased when he heard a voice say, "I ain't going out there before all them people." Finally the schoolmaster came out and said, "Owing to unforeseen circumstances, we cannot give a complete rendering of Venus and Adonis; we will give Venus without Adonis." Thereupon, there emerged upon the scene a simpering young country lass, dressed in homespun, high neck and long sleeves, and wearing the hoop skirt of the period. Later on Adonis was dragged forth—a freckled-faced youth of fourteen—and the only lack of apparel that showed was that his trousers were too short, which is a thing that often happens to boys that are growing. So, as I say, we had rather a pleasant time at the camp.

On Sunday, the second of April, entirely unexpectedly, we got word from Colonel Baldwin, Chief of Ordnance, that the lines were broken and we must prepare to move. Later on we got messages all through the day. Dunlop's, a station about two miles north of Petersburg, was the terminus of the railroad from Richmond, because the road beyond was subject to fire from the enemy, and we were to move all surplus stores to Dunlop's and destroy such as we could not move. So all the mortar shells which I mentioned were hauled to Swift Creek and dumped into the creek. By reference to my memorandum

book, we had as surplus 380 boxes of artillery ammunition; besides over 1,200 pounds of powder in boxes, that we had for use in mortars. This surplus was carried down to Dunlop's; the train was loaded, and about nightfall, it began its march. Colston and I were to wait till about midnight, when, under orders from Colonel Baldwin, we were to blow up all ordnance stores at Dunlop's. So we sat around a fire at our deserted camp long after the train had gone, and waited for the time that we were to turn to this duty.

I may say that when the train started, our Quartermaster, Captain S., took with him in the ambulance, a small wagon that he had for his own use, his wife and two children and a nurse, and with them, on horseback, went Judge C., his father-in-law, all of whom had been staying in Petersburg. There were a good many people trying to get away from Petersburg about that time; along with the family of Captain S., was a very nice looking young lady, who was trying to get to her home in Southern Virginia.

We went to Dunlop's and waited until about eleven o'clock. There was an officer there in charge of the quartermaster stores, and we arranged with him about the laying of trains to blow the whole thing up, and to have his stores piled on top of ours, so as to make a complete finish of them. He said he was acting under direct orders, and we concluded it was perfectly safe to leave the job in his hands. I took up a ham, thinking it might be of use, and strapped it on behind my saddle, and we started to overtake our train, which we did about daylight the next morning. About an hour after we left Dunlop's we heard a tremendous explosion, which showed that the Quartermaster had successfully carried out his orders; and during the night other explosions followed each other in rapid succession. Our fleet in the James River was being blown up, one vessel after another, and the sound was terrific; the earth, even where we were, was shaken by these explosions, and the sky was lighted up.

We moved along all of Monday over the bad roads, moving

in the slow way that an army has to move when the roads are bad. Wherever there is an obstacle, it effectually delays the whole column until a detour is made, or some way is devised to get rid of the obstacle. In this way, we moved on all that day toward Amelia Court House in a westerly direction. About nightfall we stopped near a pleasant house adjacent to the coal mines in Chesterfield County. Colston and I objected seriously to stopping because, as we pointed out to Captain S., the rear guard had passed us, and we were left entirely unprotected, but he said the animals were too tired to go any further. I really think his care for his wife, his natural feeling for his wife and children, prompted him to have them in a comfortable place, and that perhaps will illustrate the wisdom of the War Department now in what may seem a stern and inexorable regulation forbidding women to accompany their husbands in time of war, which is a detriment to the service, and is a very great trial to the women.

We caught up with the troops early the next morning, which was Tuesday, and moved on without much incident until night, when we arrived at Amelia Court House, about forty-five miles west of Richmond. We had a comfortable night there, and next morning Colston went off to get further orders from Colonel Baldwin, while the train, under previous directions, moved on a road running northward from Amelia Court House about five miles, where it was to take a road to the west and continue until further orders. We moved by maps that the engineers furnished, rough maps of the country; none of us had ever been in that part of the country at all. We congratulated ourselves that we were to get along smoothly, because we had no troops ahead of us and no trains; we were in the lead.

I should have mentioned that we had with us as sergeants at that time, and as messmates, Everard Meade, who was a grandson of an eminent Bishop of Virginia, and Robert Burwell, of the well-known family of that name, both of whom had been wounded and detailed to this non-combatant service. Meade, Burwell, and myself, with Colston, had a kind of camaraderie

that, I think, didn't exist between officers and men in the Union Army, or in any other army.

We were going along the road very pleasantly. I had stopped near the rear of the train to answer a call from the Ordnance Officers of two cavalry brigades that were in the neighborhood, and was giving attention to their requirements. As I rode forward, I approached the turn in the road which we were instructed to take. At the forks of the road, I found Burwell, who had been near the front, and he told me he had met some of our cavalry, who told him that the enemy's cavalry were up that road. I stopped a moment to speak to Captain S. and told Burwell to stop the train and get it turned around. Where the roads were so narrow, the wagons drove out in the fields on either side, and so turned around. A minute or two later, I followed Burwell. When I got down towards the head of the train, I found the wagons had begun to turn out, and as I was approaching along the road, a narrow road between two high banks, which opened out into a little narrow valley along a creek, with a bridge over the creek, there came dashing across the bridge a regiment of the enemy's cavalry, firing as they came. I promptly "scattered" to the woods. I heard many shots which I suppose came from shooting some of the animals, and I heard two or three explosions. Then I began to try to make my way through the woods back to the road which we had left.

I came out on the road after a while, and presently I came across Burwell, who had also taken to the woods when the enemy's cavalry approached. I may say that we had no soldiers with us at all. We simply had the train with its teamsters—half of them detailed men from the army and many of these disabled in some way or other, and the other half were colored men. Meade was captured at this time, as was our other Ordnance Sergeant.

Burwell and I made our way back to the train, and about that time Captain Colston came up. Before we got there, our own cavalry had an encounter with the enemy's cavalry, driving

them off, but not before they had done a great deal of damage; a number of the horses and mules had been killed or carried off, and we were working all the afternoon getting about twenty wagons out of the sixty ready to proceed.

We moved on that day—that was Wednesday—and all the following night, in the slow way that trains move. I slept on my horse some of the time, I am sure, and once I lay down for about an hour on the porch of a house, in a village which we passed.

On Thursday, we came upon the most trying day of the whole march. The enemy was on our left, which would be south of us, and consisted of cavalry and artillery; they were every now and then directing their fire on the line of march. The effect of that was that the wagons would gallop as hard as they could over the exposed places and then they would take places anywhere they could in the train that was formed beyond. As that thing was going on pretty nearly all day, the train was very much broken up. During one of these episodes, one of our batteries which happened to be passing opened fire on the enemy, and Mrs. S. and her children began screaming; they thought their last hour had come. I endeavored to reassure them and told them it was our guns that they heard and not the enemy's; that they were down in a defile between two steep banks, and nothing could hurt them anyhow. They were in a very nervous condition after this thing was over. I urged Captain S. to leave them at some house; that he ought not to undertake to carry them any further, and he did so. I forgot to say that he had been captured by the enemy in the attack on Wednesday and had been paroled, so that he might care for his family. After leaving them at the house, he remained with us until the surrender at Appomattox.

We went on thus during the day. As I have said, the train was broken up, and I undertook to take charge of three or four wagons in a group; Colston took a group, and Burwell took another group. About five o'clock in the evening, I had gotten my three or four wagons across a bridge over a small creek,

which I afterwards learned was Sailor's Creek, and everything seemed to be getting along well. Then I thought I would turn back and see if I could be of any help to Colston and Burwell with the wagons that were under their charge. As I came down the hill, just before I got to the bridge, I saw a line of the enemy's infantry coming out of the woods firing. Immediately all the wagons began turning out into the fields, and going eight and ten abreast charging across the field, trying to get across the creek. The banks of the creek were steep and oozy, and though the stream was only about ten feet wide, there was no way to get across except over the bridge; so the teamsters would cut a mule or horse out of the wagon and hop on their backs to get away. The wagons were all lost, except those that had gotten across the bridge before this time.

In the meanwhile, on our right, as we faced the enemy, still south of us, was the battle of Sailor's Creek, in which we lost more than half of the few troops that General Lee had with him. So that was quite the most discouraging part of the retreat.

As I came up the hill from the bridge, outlined against the western sky I saw the figure of General Lee sitting, as serene and imperturbable as ever, on his horse watching what was going on. A battery was just passing and he, in a quiet voice, told them to take a position on a crest that was there. I remember the enthusiasm with which an Irish sergeant said to his men, "Do ye hear, boys, 'tis the General himself that wants us," and they seemed very glad to take their places by him.

I went on following the line of the retreating army—infantry and artillery and wagons all mixed together—until, perhaps, about ten o'clock at night—the moon had risen and was very bright—I came to the High Bridge, as it was called, a very high railroad bridge which spans the Appomattox and the valley of the Appomattox at that point. On the wagon bridge nearby I came across Burwell. He and I decided that we would ride across the country to Farmville, which we knew was the next stopping place and get rid of the slow-moving column. I

can't tell how a man of army experience does to find his way about, except that he goes by the way the sun shines over his shoulder, or at night looks at the stars, and is able to keep some sort of a course in that way.

We rode across the country partly to get rid of the column, and partly to get something to eat, because we had had practically nothing since the morning before, when we had a breakfast. We had nothing at all on this Thursday except a little corn which I munched as I went along—not parched corn, either. We didn't get anything to eat for ourselves, but we did get a few ears of corn, which we put in our saddle pockets, and some fodder for the horses, which we strapped on behind our saddles. I forgot to state that I had put the ham I carried off from Dunlop's on a wagon as soon as I caught up with the train, and we didn't have that with us. I wished I had kept it.

When we got into Farmville, we rode around looking for a place where we might possibly spend the night. We came to the outskirts of the town, the western part, and there was a large house standing back in a yard. We knocked on the door and asked if we could get anything to eat, and if we could sleep there. The lady of the house said that General Breckenridge, who was the Secretary of War then, and his staff occupied all the room in the house; that there was nothing there to eat, but that we were welcome to stay if we chose.

Burwell had a most ingratiating air, and he began talking with her about people he had known and soon found out that they had some relations in common somewheres. She then said that she had some cold cornbread and some sorghum molasses—sorghum was a Chinese sugar cane that came into use just before the war, and it was used a great deal during the Confederacy. Well, that cold cornbread and sorghum molasses was a great treat, and I think one of the most enjoyable meals I ever had. After that, we said to her that we were very tired, that we were afraid to leave our horses for fear of their being stolen during the night, and was there any place we could put them. She said there wasn't any place but the

henhouse, so we inspected the henhouse and found that it had a very low door; but the army horse learns to do anything that is required of him, and our horses crouched down and got into the henhouse. We gave them their fodder and corn and locked them up. Before we locked them up, we took off the saddles and saddle blankets, and we slept on the back porch with the saddles for our pillows and the saddle blankets, reeking with the ammoniacal perspiration of the horses, were our covering. We were awakened the next morning in broad daylight by a very nice looking young lady pushing us with her foot. She said that her mother thought we had better be going, that General Breckenridge and his staff had been gone for an hour, and there was a rumor that the enemy was about entering the lower end of the town. So we got up and our horses came out of the henhouse just as they got in. We saddled and bridled them and rode down to the station.

There we stumbled across the wagons that had been under my charge the day before, and we also found Captain S. S. told me that there were provisions there for men and horses; and that if I, as Acting-Quartermaster of the train, would receipt for them, I could take them; that he, being a paroled prisoner, could not go any further with it. I gladly assumed that responsibility and took some corn for the horses and some meal and bacon for ourselves. We drove out from Farmville a couple of miles and stopped to feed the animals and cook a little food for ourselves. While we were there, Colston came along. I don't know where he had been the night before, but I hope he had been as comfortable as I had been. Colonel Baldwin passed and stayed to share our scanty breakfast—it wasn't scanty, we had enough bacon and meal, but it was poorly cooked and wasn't very attractive; but still, he was glad to get something; he hadn't had anything for sometime either. I said to him that really I might just as well go away, that I had been spending my last furlough of a month in Fauquier County, and I might as well join Mosby, who operated there. He said the most important duty for us was to try to get these wagons

along; that General Lee's staff were engaged in that work and every effort must be made in that direction. This was Friday. As we went along that day, there was an alarm at one time on our right, which was north of us, but nothing came of it, and everything indicated that things were going well.

Colston had met an officer of Pickett's staff during the day, who thought that everything was all up, and just a little later, I saw General Breckenridge ride by. He was a very splendid looking man; I had last seen him when I was a boy, in the Senate Chamber, as Vice-President of the United States. He was a very impressive looking man on horseback, and to all of us he gave new courage by his air and bearing.

I don't remember whether we stopped anywhere that night or not, I don't think we did; but by that time, I was half asleep, and I have really no recollection of what took place on Friday night.

Saturday was still a day without incident. Saturday evening we stopped two or three miles short of Appomattox Court House, went into camp, and had a comfortable meal as meals go in the army. Next morning, we heard firing in front of us, which was somewhat of a surprise, and Colston, Burwell and I, who were all that were left of our former associates, rode up to the top of the hill to see what was going on. Just as we got there, a battery of the enemy which had been captured by Gordon's command, was brought in and things looked as though we were going to get through. However, we didn't like the firing in front.

While we were sitting on a log on the roadside, holding our horses—for a soldier always gets off his horse when he can, so as to rest the horse; even if he stops five minutes, he gets off—we were sitting, as I say, holding our horses by the bridle reins, when an officer rode up, I think he was Captain Arnold, of the Stonewall Brigade, who knew Burwell very well. He asked Burwell to fasten his Captain's bars to his collar. Burwell said: "Why, do you expect to be killed?" He replied that he was going out with a flag of truce. This was one of the flags

sent out by Gordon's command in front, at the direction of General Lee.

He rode off, and while it is hard to estimate how time goes, I think about twelve o'clock General Lee went out to meet General Grant, and he rode right by where we were sitting. He usually wore a simple Colonel's uniform, just the three stars of a Colonel, often on a sack coat, but he was dressed this time in full uniform of the rank of General, with yellow sash, wearing his splendid sword, and his gold spurs, the gift of admirers, and complete appointments. He and Colonel Marshall rode off together and we heard nothing of the result for three or four hours.

While we were sitting there, a short time afterward, we saw an officer of ours and two men in the enemy's uniform come riding rapidly up, and as we had an opportunity of seeing pictures in the illustrated papers that came from the other side, I at once recognized him as General Custer from his red necktie, which was a thing that all of his men wore, as a badge of his command, and I also recognized him from his long yellow hair. He asked to see General Longstreet, who was the next highest officer in command. When they met, they began to talk, and then officers and men gathered around. General Longstreet waved his hand with a sweeping gesture and we stood in a ring, just as schoolboys do when there is a fight, and watched these two men engaged in a very animated conversation. We saw "Old Pete," as he was called in the army, with a firm and determined looking face, and finally Custer rode off with an angry expression on his countenance. We heard later in the day from one of Longstreet's staff that Custer had demanded of Longstreet a surrender of the army. He no doubt thought it would be a great feather in his cap, but Longstreet said that General Lee had already gone out to meet General Grant to discuss that matter, and the thing could not be considered. Custer then said he would open fire, that he would begin hostilities, and Longstreet said, "As soon as you like." Custer concluded that he had better not do it and then rode away.

I may mention a rather curious circumstance, showing how hard it is to get the actual facts. General Alexander, who was Longstreet's Chief of Artillery, wrote a book about the war, in which he discussed this meeting and described it, and some Pennsylvania Colonel wrote a letter to the *Century Magazine* and said no such thing ever occurred; that he had been with General Custer all day and he had never been outside of his own lines. General Alexander wrote to a number of people, among others to Captain Colston, and there were at least a half dozen at that time who had actually witnessed the interview, showing that this Pennsylvania gentleman was entirely mistaken.

Presently, we rode back some distance to see what things looked like in the rear. Someone suggested we might go out, but we found by that time that the troops of the enemy had moved in back of us and on either side; we could see their lines.

Later in the day, we heard the terms of the surrender. Monday morning we moved from where we had been up to the woods where General Lee had his headquarters and pitched a spare wagon sheet—we had no tents, they had all been destroyed—and made ourselves as comfortable as possible. It began to rain very hard and it was very disagreeable. Our friends, the enemy, very thoughtfully sent some rations over, including hard-tack, which was a treat to us because it was properly cooked bread, against the very poor bread we were able to make in the field; and, in addition to that, they sent all the officers of what is now called the Headquarters Staff, some whiskey.

Now, the distillation of grain was illegal in the Confederacy, and the only drink we ever indulged in down there, and that not often, was apple brandy or peach brandy, a fiery and heady drink. It really seemed to us this whiskey was a most bland and emollient sort of a thing. We were told that each officer could have a quart if he would furnish a bottle. S. had in the wagon three or four bottles that held more than a quart, and they filled my bottle for me and also filled Colston's. Well,

he didn't drink at all, and I am not given to it, but we had many friends that day who stopped in to see us; by nightfall, all that whiskey was gone.

As I say, I wasn't given to drink, but, of course, I drank with friends who came in, and they were coming in all day, and I tell you on my word that it had no more effect on me than so much milk and water. The doctors say that when a man is exhausted, it takes a certain amount of food and proper drink to fill him up again, and it certainly was the case with me; although I am sure that I drank more whiskey that one day than I have ever drunk in any six months since, it had no unpleasant effect whatever. After that, we began to feel more comfortable.

That cheerful feeling grew when General Lee issued his last general order. I took a copy of it in my book at the time, and it has clung to my memory since; this was what he said:

"After four years of arduous service, marked by unsurpassed courage and fortitude, the Army of Northern Virginia has been compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources.

"I need not tell the survivors of so many hard-fought battles, who have remained steadfast to the last, that I have consented to this result from no distrust of them. But, feeling that valor and devotion could accomplish nothing that could compensate for the loss that would have attended the continuance of the contest, I determined to avoid the useless sacrifice of those whose past services have endeared them to their countrymen.

"By the terms of the agreement, officers and men can return to their homes and remain there until exchanged.

"You will take with you the satisfaction that proceeds from the consciousness of duty faithfully performed; and I earnestly pray that a merciful God will extend to you His blessing and protection.

"With an unceasing admiration of your constancy and devotion to your country, and a grateful remembrance of your kind and generous consideration for myself, I bid you an affectionate farewell."

It was read in front of all the thin regiments that were left, and on all the thousands of men under arms at the time of surrender, it had a most cheering effect. It warmed our hearts to know that our old Master was satisfied with us.

Parole sheets were prepared, and they were signed much more rapidly than you would suppose, and we were all ready to go by Wednesday or Thursday of that week. I think it was Wednesday evening that Colston and I went down—it was only about a hundred yards—to say “ Good-bye ” to General Lee. I had known him all my life, because his home was very near my boyhood home, but I had had no speech with him since the very beginning of the war, when I had a little talk with him in Richmond.

We went into his tent to see him and told him we had come to say good-bye, and in that playful, teasing way that he had with young officers, he said, “ Well, you young men didn’t fight hard enough.” I told him, when he asked where I was going, that I was going to my uncle’s house in Fauquier County, my war home, and he sent kind messages to his friends there, and then he wrote his name in this memorandum book, of which I have spoken; at my request, he signed his name below my copy of his last order, and so we parted from him.

I had lost at Sailor’s Creek all the spare clothing I had except some at home, and, thinking at the start from Petersburg that it would be a very muddy journey, I was wearing my worst clothes. I had picked up on the road a sound shirt which I had washed at the first stopping place, so I could have a change of shirts; and with that and a bag of Northern oats strapped behind my saddle, and some little provision for myself, I started, with about thirty others who diverged from my route by degrees, to ride one hundred and fifty miles to my war home.

A friend of mine had some United States currency in his possession for the purchase of stores, and gave me a five dollar note on a Frederick City Bank. That, with my horse, sword and pistol and the clothing I have mentioned, was all the property that I possessed. And so, I rode away and took up the duties of civil life.

HON. DANIEL DULANY, 1685-1753
(*the Elder*)

RICHARD HENRY SPENCER

The Province of Maryland was fortunate, indeed, when at the beginning of the eighteenth century an ambitious young Irishman of eighteen, Daniel Dulany, the elder, came into its beautiful bay to seek his fortune in a foreign land. Relying entirely upon his own resources, but with a strong heart, a resolute will, an exalted ambition and studious habits, which enabled him to rise above circumstances, to achieve great success in his chosen profession, and which brought him in after years honor and happiness.

Of his coming to America, the following was written a little over one hundred years afterwards, on the first leaf of a Prayer Book, by his grandson, Daniel Dulany, Jr., then residing in London. The book had been his mother's, who was a Tasker, who died in Brighton, England, in 1822, in the 98th year of her age:

“Of my father's family, my grandfather, Daniel Dulany, the elder, was born in Queen's County, Ireland, and until the year 1710, wrote his name Delany, and afterwards Dulany. He was a cousin to Dr. Patrick Delany, the friend of Dean Swift, Dean of Down, Head Master of Trinity College, Dublin. I have several letters from Dr. Delany to his cousin, my grandfather. The father of my grandfather married a second wife, when my grandfather's home became uneasy to him, and the little aid he received from his father made him quit the University while yet a youth, and leave his country for Maryland, where he arrived almost penniless and would have been indentured for a term of years to pay his passage, but for the kind aid of Mr. Plater.”

The gentleman referred to was Col. George Plater, of St. Mary's county, who had been Attorney General of the Province 1691-1698, an office which was subsequently held for many years by the young settler himself.

One biographer, without giving any authority for the statement, says: "He was a student of Trinity College, Dublin, when a quarrel with his stepmother induced his father to withdraw his allowance, and he was compelled to seek his fortune in the new world. To defray the expense of his passage, he indentured himself to the captain for the cost of the trip, and was transferred on his arrival in Maryland to Col. George Plater, (formerly) Attorney General of the Province, who soon discovered that he was well educated and a gentleman, and made him his clerk. He afterwards studied law in Col. Plater's office."

(" *One Hundred Years Ago*," the Life and Times of the Rev. Walter Dulany Addison (1769-1848), by his grand-daughter Elizabeth Hesselius Murray, pages 17 and 18, 1895.)

In that historic region of the Kingdom of Ireland, known as Ossory, and especially in that portion of it which is comprised in the western half of Queen's County, the patronymic of Delane, and its more ancient forms of O'Dullany, O'Delany, Delaney, Delany and Dulany, are of great antiquity. As early as 1178 Felix O'Dullany, a Cistercian monk, was Bishop of Ossory. Of this family also was the late John Thadeus Delane, from 1841 to 1877, the distinguished and accomplished editor of the London *Times*.

Daniel Dulany was born in Queen's County, Ireland, in 1685, and arrived in the Province of Maryland in 1703. At that time the population was only about 33,000 and no settlements of any consequence had then been made in that portion of the Province now embraced in the counties of Frederick, Washington, Allegany and Garrett; and only a part of the territory now known as Howard and Carroll counties had then been settled.

Presumably established in Colonel Plater's office in St.

Mary's county, he was doubtless admitted to the bar of that county in due time, but the records no longer exist. He was admitted, however, to the bar of Charles county in 1709,¹ in which year he served as clerk to the Committee on Laws² in the Lower House of Assembly and of which he was in later years Chairman.

In 1710, he removed from St. Mary's County to Prince George's County,³ where he was admitted to the bar, and in the same year he was also admitted to the bar of the Provincial Court. In 1716 he was enrolled as a student at Gray's Inn, London,⁴ so that he added to his knowledge of books and to his practical training before the bar in Maryland, the direct contact with the law schools of England.

About 1721, he removed permanently to Annapolis, which as the capital was then entering upon that genial and cultured life which henceforth made it the social and political center of the Province. And by the founding in 1696, of King William's School (the forerunner of St. John's College) it became the center of learning.

From that time on his career was one of uninterrupted honor and usefulness. For nearly forty years Daniel Dulany (the elder) held the first place in the confidence of the Proprietary and the affections of the people. During that period he held the various offices of Alderman, Councilman and Recorder of Annapolis, Attorney-General, Judge of the Admiralty, Commissary-General, Agent and Receiver-General, and Member of the Council, the latter of which he held under the successive administrations of Governors Bladen, Ogle and Sharpe.

He was also for many years, beginning in the year 1722, a member of the Lower House from Annapolis and Anne Arundel county, in which capacity he was distinguished as a leader of

¹ Charles County Court Proceedings, Liber B., No. 2, p. 608.

² Lower House Journal, Nov. 2, 1709, p. 229.

³ Prince George's County Court Proceedings, Liber D., p. 320.

⁴ J. I. Foster, *The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521-1889*, p. 362.

"1716-17, Feb. 21. Daniel Dullany of Prince George Co. province of Maryland, America, gent."

the country party, in the controversy about the extension of the English statutes. His celebrated pamphlet (an original copy is in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society), "The Rights of the Inhabitants of Maryland to the Benefit of the English Laws," addressed to all true Patriots and sincere Lovers of Liberty, published in Annapolis in 1728, while a member of the Lower House, "clear in expression, sound in reason and convincing in argument," showed how heartily his interest and affections were bound up in the welfare of the Province. It was one of the most interesting periods in the history of Maryland, but this contention between the people and the proprietary was not settled until a compromise was made in 1732, when it was finally adjudged and determined that the people of Maryland were entitled to all the benefits of the English Statutes.

During a period of twenty years, when a member of the Lower House and later of the Upper House, there was no question of great importance argued by the two Houses of the Assembly, the Governor and Proprietor in which Daniel Dulany, the elder, did not take an active part, and during this period he was as staunch a supporter of the proprietary's interest, as in the English Statutes controversy he had been loyal to the people's cause.

The office of his Lordship's Council gave him ample scope for the exertion of his benevolent disposition and unblemished reputation.

According to his contemporaries he protected the widow and the orphan, and he advised the ignorant with kindly wisdom. He was equalled by few in ability and excelled by none in integrity.

One of the many important official acts of his life was in 1750 to represent with Benedict Calvert, Benjamin Tasker, Jr., Edmund Jennings, Robert Jenkins Henry, George Plater and John Ross,⁵ Lord Baltimore in the fixing of the boundary line between Maryland and Pennsylvania. This vexed question induced a border warfare, continued for several years and

⁵Calvert Papers. (MS.) Nos. 153 and 450.

punctuated with such dramatic incidents as the arrest and wounding of Major Thomas Cresap, who resisted a Pennsylvania sheriff on the ground that he was upon Maryland soil. The establishment of Mason and Dixon's Line in 1763-1766 was the conclusion of the controversy.

Mr. Dulany promoted industries and took an active part in the westward movement in Maryland.

Mereness ⁶ says: In 1735, Daniel Dulany (the elder) offered sufficiently favorable terms to induce about one hundred families recently arrived from the Palatinate to settle on some of his land in Frederick County. The first results of the movement are stated in a letter written in 1745 by Mr. Dulany to the Hon. Samuel Ogle, in which the writer said: "You would be surprised to see how much the country is improved beyond the mountains, especially by the Germans, who are the best people that can be to settle a wilderness: and the fertility of the soil makes them ample amends for their industry." ⁷

Mereness also says: He (Daniel Dulany, the elder) had done much to encourage the settlement of Frederick County and he was the most highly esteemed lawyer in Maryland.

In 1745, Mr. Dulany laid out Frederick Town (now Frederick City) on part of the survey called "Tasker's Chance," patented by Benjamin Tasker in 1727, and sold to Daniel Dulany in 1744. This property containing over 7,000 acres of land, afterward came into the possession of his eldest son, Daniel Dulany (the younger) and was confiscated and sold October 10, 1781, for £60,555.

From London, after his death, Cecil^s Calvert, brother of Charles, Fifth Lord Baltimore, wrote April 17, 1754, to Daniel Dulany's son, Walter Dulany, to express the great loss occasioned by his father's death to both the Proprietor and the Province.

⁶ *Maryland as a Proprietary Province*, by Newton D. Mereness, 1901, p. 122.

⁷ Dulany Papers.

Mr. Dulany's first wife, Charity Courts, daughter of Colonel John Courts of Charles County, died childless.

He married secondly Rebecca Smith, second daughter of Colonel Walter Smith of Calvert County, by whom he had,

1. Daniel Dulany the younger, the accomplished lawyer and Secretary of the Province for many years, who married Rebecca Tasker, second daughter of Hon. Benjamin Tasker, For thirty-two years a member of the Council.
2. Rebecca Dulany, who married James Paul Heath of Maryland.
3. Rachel Dulany, who married first, November 7, 1741, William Knight of Cecil County, and secondly, Rev. Henry Addison, M. A.
4. Dennis Dulany, who entered the British Navy in 1743, and in 1754 was made Clerk of Kent County.
5. Margaret Dulany, who married first, May 29, 1747, Dr. Alexander Hamilton of Annapolis, formerly of Scotland, and secondly, William Murdock of Prince George's County.
6. Walter Dulany, Commissary General of the Province of Maryland, who married Mary Grafton, daughter of Richard Grafton of New Castle, Delaware.

Mr. Dulany married thirdly, Henrietta Maria (Lloyd) Chew, widow of Hon. Samuel Chew and daughter of Philemon Lloyd of Talbot County, by whom he had Lloyd Dulany, born December 10, 1742, who married Elizabeth Brice, daughter of John and Sarah (Frisby) Brice, of Maryland, and died June 21, 1782, in Park Street, Grosvenor Square, London, of a wound received a few days before in a duel fought in Hyde Park with Rev. Bennett Allen, formerly rector of St. Anne's Church, Annapolis. His widow afterwards married Major Walter Dulany, Jr., the son of Lloyd Dulany's half brother, Walter Dulany, and his wife Mary (Grafton) Dulany.

Daniel Dulany (the elder) died in Annapolis, December 5, 1753, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and his tomb may

be seen in the churchyard of St. Anne's at Annapolis. His second wife is also buried there and the spot is marked by an altar tomb bearing the Dulany escutcheon quartered with the Smith armorial bearings. His pall was supported by the Governor of Maryland (Sharpe), four members of the Honorable Council and the Worshipful Mayor of Annapolis.

“I looked through the rails at the quiet green graves,
And thought of the world, with its care that enslaves;
I looked through the gates of this city of rest
Where the shadows fall sweet when the sun's in the west;
Asleep in St. Anne's, asleep in St. Anne's,
And the thunder of cannon may roar,
But here the unwaking shall know not the breaking
Of the waves on the Severn's shore.”

The following obituary notice is copied from the *Maryland Gazette*, Annapolis, of December 6, 1753:

“Yesterday, about Ten O'clock in the Evening, died, at his House in this City, in the 68th Year of his Age, after a long and lingering Illness, the Honorable Daniel Dulany, Esq.: Commissary-General of this Province, one of his Lordship's Council of State, and Recorder of this City. During fifty years Residence in Maryland, he always maintained an excellent Character, strictly agreeable to the Rules of Honour, Justice and Integrity. He came into the Country very young, but by the Strength of his natural Parts (which were extraordinary) and his diligent Application, particularly to the Law, he became very eminent in that Profession. He formerly served this County and City many Years, as a Member of the Lower House of Assembly; and possessed several of the Greatest Offices of Honour and Trust in the Government; specially that of Attorney-General, and Judge of the Admiralty; and in all his several rotations he acquitted himself with strict Equity and unwearied Diligence. He was an humane, generous and charit-

able Gentleman, and a great Promoter of the Public Good, by encouraging all kinds of Industry, towards which he largely contributed, and was very Instrumental in settling the back Parts of this Province. He was a tender Husband, the best of Fathers, a good Provider and Lover of his Family, a steady Friend and kind Neighbour, and truly deserved the love and Esteem of all Mankind. The loss of such a Gentleman to his Family in particular, and the Country in general, is greatly to be Regretted."

Sixteen years before, in 1737, Mr. Dulany had buried his wife, Rebecca, in the graveyard north of the church, and shortly erected over her remains a handsome altar tomb, covered with an Italian marble slab, which is in fair preservation to this day. On this he had placed a loving inscription of fourteen lines, recording his loss and her many virtues.

These lines do not fill the surface, a space having been left at the foot of the stone designedly, doubtless, to receive his own commendatory notice when he died. But this failed of accomplishment for reasons now unknown.

A descendant of his, Rev. Thomas H. Montgomery, of Philadelphia, was moved to supply this omission, and obtaining the consent of St. Anne's Vestry in November, 1899, "to place an inscription on the tombstone of Mrs. Rebecca Dulany," has directed the following to be inscribed to his memory thereon:

" Here lie also the Remains of
The Honourable Daniel Dulany, Esquire,
Commissary General of this Province
one of his Lordship's Council of State
and Recorder of this City
who died
5 December, 1753,
in the LXVIIIth Year of his age." ^s

^s *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XXIV, p. 395.

Among Mr. Dulany's contemporaries, practicing before the Provincial Court, were Thomas Bordley, Michael Jenifer, Edmund Jennings, Michael Howard, Richard Francis, author of "Maxims of Equity," and the uncle of Sir Philip Francis, the reputed author of the "Letters of Junius," Edward Dorsey and Philip Key.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE OF OBSERVATION FOR ELIZABETH TOWN DISTRICT
[WASHINGTON COUNTY].

(Continued from Vol. XII, p. 347.)

Wednesday the 1st day of January 1777.

The Committee met according to Adjournment. Members present

Captⁿ Samuel Hughes in the Chair

Coll John Stull

Mr Young

Coll And^w Rentch

Mr N. Smith

Mr Jos. Sprigg

Doct^r Schnebley

Captⁿ Peter Bell

James Clark Clk

Mr Lentz

The want of a proper Person in Elizabeth Town to provide quarters for Recruits or Soldiers, belonging to the united States is much felt. It is therefore resolved that Mr Frederick Stydinger shall act as quarter master in the said Town, for that purpose, and all officers, Recruits or Soldiers as aforesaid are desired to apply to him.

Whereas many Soldiers of the flying Camp have returned home very sick, and have neither friends nor money to support them therein, and no provision being made, may at this Time much discourage the Service. It is therefore resolved, that this Committee will provide for such sick Soldiers, out of the publick Money in the hands of their Treasurer, and render an Acc^t thereof to the Council of Safety.

Coll Shryock having comply'd with the Order of the Committee by burying Fowler, informed them he had received sufficient Satisfaction by private Donation for that Purpose.

The Committee adjourns 'till to-morrow morning at 9 O'Clock A. M.

Thursday the 2^d day of January 1777.

The Committee met according to Adjournment. Members present

Mr Joseph Sprigg in the Chair

Coll. Stull	Mr Lentz
Coll. Rentch	Mr Smith
Capt ⁿ Hughes	Mr Kershner
Capt ⁿ Bell	Mr Baird
Mr Young	Capt ⁿ Fackler
Doct ^r Hart	James Clark Clk
Capt ⁿ Cellar	

Ordered that the Guard continue Richard Denison at Mr Park's untill farther order of this Committee.

Whereas there has been great Complaints before this Committee of the Recruits behaving in a very riotous and disorderly manner in this Town, it is therefore requested that all recruiting officers will take proper Care, that their men behave themselves in a peaceable and orderly manner, 'otherwise they may depend that this Committee will represent their Behaviour to the Congress.

Ordered that the Treasurer pay to Mr Thomas Simms the sum of fifty pounds to be appropriated in order to complete the Tory Goal, and to lay the several Accounts before this Committee for Inspection.

Ordered that John Rentch, Matthias Ridenour & Nicholas Smith appraise the several Waggon and Horses, that shall go with the Militia in Colⁿ John Stulls Battalion and make Return thereof to this Committee.

Ordered that Frederick Steydenger Matthias Need & Andrew

Link appraise all the Arms that Col^l Stull's Battalion may take with them to Camp.

The Committee adjourns for an Hour.

The Committee met according to Adjournment. Peter and Angel Gainsbergers being brought before this Committee for speaking and Acting inimical to the common Cause, and upon Examination acknowledged the Charge. It is therefore resolved that the said Peter & Angel Gainsberger's be kept under Guard untill the Militia shall march, when they are to be taken with said Militia to Camp, also that the said Peter & Angel Gainsberger pay all expences of this and the former Guard.

Resolved that no Physician or any other Person shall presume to inoculate or bring the small Pox into this County, during the absence of the Militia.

The Committee adjourns 'till Saturday next at 9 O'Clock.

Saturday the 4th of January 1777.

Doct^r Henry Schnebley in the Chair

Coll. Stull	Mr Baird
Coll. Rentch	Mr Smith
Capt ⁿ Hughes	Mr Sprigg
Mr Young	James Clark Clk
Capt ⁿ Bell	

Ordered that the Treasurer pay James Clark Clk of this Committee the sum of £7.. 6.. 11 for his Services. Upon reconsidering the Resolution of this Committee of the 2^d Instant with respect to Peter & Angel Gainsberger The Committee do resolve that Angel Gainsberger may stay at home, if he thinks proper, to take Care of their stock which appears must inevitably perish for want of some Person to take proper Care thereof, and that Peter Gainsberger be obliged to march to Camp agreeable to the former Resolve.

On motion of Captⁿ Bell it is resolved that the flying Camp are by no means exempt from marching with the Militia.

The Committee adjourns 'till to morrow morning at 9 O'Clock.

Sunday January the 5th 1777.

Mr Joseph Sprigg in the Chair

Coll. Stull	Mr Dan ^l Hughes
Coll. Rentch	Mr Young
Maj ^r Orindorf	Mr Baird
Doct ^r Hart	James Clark Clk
Capt ⁿ Hughes	

Coll. Smith informs this Committee that there is no quarter master appointed to his Battalion, and as it is necessary some person should be appointed to that office it is therefore resolved that Coll. Smith appoint a proper person to act in that Capacity untill the Council of Safety shall commission a person for that Purpose.

On motion resolved that Mr Andrew Linck serve as a Committee man in the Room of Coll Jos. Smith, who hath refused to serve.

Ordered that the Treasurer pay Coll Joseph Smith two Thousand Dollars, to be appropriated to the use of the Battalion under his Command.

Ordered that the following men be added to the number of those who were on the 30th Decem^r last appointed to form the County into Companys for the Relief of the distressed Inhabitants of said County. Doct^r Cruss, Peter Dick, Levy Coharn, Jo^s Norris, Jn^o Cox Tho^s Smith Coll Tho^s Prather, Isaac Cooper Fred^k Kiger Tho^s Hogg John Ingram.

The Committee adjourns 'till to morrow morning at 9 O'Clock.

Monday January the 6th 1777.

Mr Joseph Sprigg in the Chair

Coll. Stull	Mr Lentz
Capt ⁿ Hughes	Doct ^r Schnebley
Coll. Young	Mr Lynch

Colⁿ Rentch
Mr Baird
Doct^r Hart

Mr Nead
James Clark Clk

On Motion Resolved that Matthias Neid serve as a Committee man in the Room of Captⁿ Bell, who hath resigned.

Whereas a Message was sent by this Committee to Joseph Rentch requesting that he would immediately send in his small Farm Waggon, which he has neglected to comply with. It is therefore ordered that a Guard be sent immediately to fetch in said Waggon and three Horses, as also to bring Mr Rentch with them, to shew Cause why he has treated the Authority of this Committee with so much Contempt. If the Horses can't be found, the Guard is ordered to bring his Oxen.

Ordered that Michael McKern be kept under Guard untill the next Company of Militia may march, when he is to be delivered to the Captⁿ and march'd with his Company to Camp.

The Committee adjourns 'till to morrow morning at 9 O'Clock.

Tuesday Jan^y 7th 1777.

The Committee met according to Adjournment. Members present

Doct^r Henry Schnebly in the Chair

Coll. Stull	Mr Nead
Coll. Rentch	Mr Lynck
Capt ⁿ Hughes	Mr Lentz
Mr Sprigg	Mr Smith
Mr Baird	James Clark Clk
Mr Young	

Mr Denton Jacques appeared before this Committee agreeable to their Requisition, in order to shew Cause why he has so long delayed to enroll agreeable to the Resolves of the Convention of this State, and having absolutely refused to enroll was thereupon fined as followeth

S. D

Denton Jacques fined £10.. 00.. 0 paid to Doct^r Henry Schnebley.

Captⁿ Michael Fackler's seat in Committee being vacated, by his being in Actual Service, Mr Frederick Stydinger was unanimously elected to serve as a Committee man in his Room.

The Committee adjourns 'till to morrow morning at 9 O'Clock.

Wednesday January the 8th 1777.

The Committee met according to Adjournment. Members Present

Doct^r Henry Schnebley in the Chair

Capt ⁿ Hughes	Mr Stydinger
Mr Sprigg	Mr Need
Mr Lentz	Coll. Stull
Mr Young	James Clark Clk
Mr Lynck	

On Motion resolved that Matthias Ridenour serve as a Committee man in the Room of Captⁿ John Cellar who hath resigned.

The Committee adjourns 'till to morrow at 9 O'Clock Ante Meridiem.

Thursday January the 9th 1777.

The Committee met according to Adjournment. Members present

Doct^r Hen^y Schnebley in the Chair

Coll Stull	Mr Smith
Capt ⁿ Hughes	Mr Ridensur
Mr Sprigg	Mr Graver
Mr Stydinger	James Clark Clk
Mr Neid	

Ordered that George Moore Rich^d Carter and John Reynolds Sen^r appraise the several Waggon, horses Waggon Cloths and Blankets that can be procured for the use of Coll. Joseph Smith's Battalion and make return thereof to this Committee.

On Motion resolved that Jacob Graver serve as a Committee man in the Room of Captⁿ Samuel Hughes who has resigned.

It appears to this Committee, that a Number of Blankets are wanting to supply Coll. Smith's Battalion, who are getting in readiness to march to Camp, this is therefore to require you to use your endeavours to procure as many Blankets as may be wanting, and deliver them to Coll. Smith, who will have them apprais'd and make return thereof to this Committee. Directed to Coll Rich^d Davies, Capt^{ns} Basil Williams James Wallen, Jacob Sparrow, Mess^{rs} Amos Davies, John Housholder and Peter Swingley.

Thomas Bradley being brought before this Committee for not enrolling in some Company of Militia, agreeable to order of Convention, who acknowledged that he neither had nor would enroll himself. It is therefore resolved that said Bradley be fined £10 for such neglect and refusal, and that he be kept under Guard untill he give security for his good Behaviour, agreeable to Resolve of Convention, also that he pay all expence of this and the former Guard.

On Motion resolved that Mr Geo. Swingley serve as a Committee man in the Room of Mr Jos. Sprigg who has resigned.

On Motion resolved that Mr Stophel Burket serve as a Committee man in the Room of Mr Christⁿ Lentz who has resigned.

On Motion resolved that Dr Peter Woltz serve as a Committee man in the Room of Dr Noah Hart who has resigned.

The Committee adjourns 'till to morrow at 9 O'Clock Ante Meridiem.

Friday Jan^y 10th 1777.

The Committee met according to Adjournment. Members present

Doct^r Hen^y Schnebley in the Chair

Doct^r Woltz

Mr Neid

Mr Stydinger

Mr Graver

Mr Smith

Mr Ridenour

Mr Lynck

James Clark Clk

On Motion resolved that Mr Baltzer Gull serve as a Committee man in the Room of Coll John Stull who has resign'd.

Whereas Complaint hath been made to this Committee that no Horse have yet been procured in order to draw the Cannon for the use of Colⁿ Stull's Battalion

Ordered that Jacob Good furnish one Team for that purpose in Case the said Good cannot furnish four horses his own property, that he apply to some Neighbour to assist him therein, who is hereby required to be assistive, and that Nicholas Martin and Joseph Rentch in partnership furnish another Team for the purpose aforesaid, that said Teams be brought to Town to morrow properly geared.

On Motion resolved unanimously that Abraham Kneff serve as a Committee man in the Room of Ludwick Young who has resign'd.

The Committee adjourns till Saturday next at 9 O'Clock.

Saturday Jan^y 11th 1777.

The Committee met according to Adjournment Members present

Doct^r Schnebley in the Chair

Captⁿ Lynck

Mr Smith

Mr Neid

Mr Graver

Mr Ridenour

Mr Knave

Colⁿ Rentch

James Clark Clk

Mr Stydinger

On Motion, ordered that Tho^s Bradley be kept under Guard at Samuel Finley's 'till Tuesday next, and then delivered to Captⁿ James Wallen marched to Camp with his Company and pay all expence of Guard &c.

On Motion, resolved unanimously, that if any Servant or Negroe, residing in this County, be found any Distance from his or her Master's Premisses, during the Absence of the Militia, without a Certificate under his or her Master's or Mistress's

hand, such Servant or Negroe so apprehended, shall receive on his or her bare Back, thirty Lashes, well laid on.

Ordered that the Treasurer pay James Clark Clk of this Committee the Sum of £2.. 12.. 6 Curr^y for his Services.

On Motion resolved that M^r Thomas Brooke serve as a Committee man in the Room of Colⁿ And^w Rentch who has resign'd.

The Committee adjourns 'till to morrow morning 9 O'Clock.

Sunday Jan^y 12th 1777.

The Committee met According to Adjournment. Members present

Maj^r Christian Orindorf in the Chair

Doct^r Woltz

M^r Gull

Captⁿ Lynck

M^r Stydinger

M^r Graver

James Clark Clk

M^r Neid

Whereas Captⁿ Joseph Chapline applied to this Committee for a Proportion of the money sent by Congress (for the use of the Militia of this County) declaring his men uncapable to march to Camp, without assistance therein, Resolved that an Express be sent immediately to Colⁿ John Stull (Treasurer) requesting that that 263 Dollars of said Money be appropriated for the Express purpose of Equipping Captⁿ Chapline's Company and likewise that 263 Dollars of said Money (tho' not yet demanded) be appropriated for the Equipment of Captⁿ Butler's Company, if so much may be required.

That Doct^r Peter Woltz be sent express for the afores^d Sums of Money, empowered to pass Receipts for the same, for which this Committee will be accountable.

The Committee adjourns 'till to morrow morning at 9 O'Clock.

Monday Jan^y 13th 1777.

The Committee met according to Adjournment. Members present

Captⁿ Lynck in the Chair

Maj^r Orindorf

Mr Graver

Doct^r Woltz

Mr Gull

Mr Stydinger

James Clark Clk

Mr Neid

Doct^r Peter Woltz delivered to the Chairman 263 Dollars which he rec^d from Colⁿ Stull (Treasurer) for the use of Captⁿ Joseph Chapline's Company, agreeable to the Resolve of yesterday, ordered that the Chairman pass his Receipt to Doct^r Woltz for the same.

Jan^y 13th 1777 Receiv'd of Doct^r Peter Woltz 263 Dollars by him rec^d from Colⁿ Stull by order of Committee for the use of Captⁿ Chapline's Company I say receiv'd by me

Andrew lynck Chairman

Maj^r Orindorf laid before the Chairman an order from Captⁿ Chapline therein requesting, that the Proportion of Money for the use of his Company might be paid to the said Maj^r Orindorf, which has been computed to be 263 Dollars. ordered that the said Number of 263 Dollars be paid to the said Maj^r Orindorf for the purpose aforesaid and that he pass his Receipt to the Chairman for the same.

Jan^y 13th 1777. Receiv'd of Captⁿ Andrew Lynck Chairman 263 Dollars for the use of Captⁿ Joseph Chapline's Company I say received by me.

Christan Orindorf.

John Marshal being brought before this Committee, for Drinking the Kings health Success to Lord and Gen^l Howe, and the British Army, saying that the King would have the Country before the middle of June next, that if he should be put in Confinement at Elizabeth Town, he valued it not, for Lord Howe would soon release him, upon examination acknowledged the Charge.

Ordered that the said John Marshall be kept in safe Custody untill he shall give sufficient security that he shall neither say nor do anything inimical to the United States of America, like-

wise pay Richard Acton and Comp^y £4.. 14.. 2 for their Ex-
pence & trouble of apprehending and delivering s^d Marshall to
Committee and the expence of future Guards.

Richard Acton applied to this Committee for pay for the
Expence of himself & Comp^y (as they lived at a great Distance)
John Marshall declaring himself uncapable to discharge the
same, therefore ordered that the Treasurer pay Rich^d Acton the
afores^d sum of £4.. 14.. 2 as a Satisfaction for his and Com-
pany's trouble as aforesaid.

On Motion, resolved that the Tories that now are, or hereafter
may be in Custody in this Town, be allowed each one pound and
half of Bread per day, and water sufficient, that John Leidey
be desired to furnish them with the said quantities of Bread and
render a Just Account thereof to this Committee for Payment.

The Committee adjourns 'till to morrow morning at 9
O'Clock at Funks Town.

Tuesday January 14th 1777.

The Committee met according to Adjournment. Members
present

	Doct Henry Schnebley in the Chair
Mr And ^w Lynch	Nicholas Smith
Matthias Neid	Thomas Brooke
Baltzer Gull	Doct ^r Peter Woltz
Fred ^k Stydinger	
Abraham Knave	James Clark Clk

On Motion resolved that Thomas Smith serve as a Committee
man in the Room of Colⁿ Sam^l Beall who has resigned.

Samuel Donaldson was brought before this Committee, ac-
cused that he had reported that the Negroes, after the march of
the Militia, would rise and destroy the women and Children,
prejudicial to the Common Cause. Ordered that said Donald-
son pay the expence of Guard, and appear before this Committee
next Saturday at Sharpsburgh, that further order may be taken
therein. Capt. Chapline entered security for his Appearance.

Adam Wise Blacksmith laid before the Chairman an Account of £10.. 19.. 3 for work done to the Carriage of Artillery in Colⁿ Stull's Battalion. ordered that said Account be paid by Doct^r Henry Schnebly in the Room of the Treasurer, and take Receipt for the same.

David Hellen was brought before Committee, accused with speaking and acting inimical to the united States of America. Ordered that said Hellen provide himself with necessaries in order to march with Captⁿ Baker's Company, and pay Expence of Guard.

John Marshall having entered into Continental Service and paid £4.. 14.. 2 in full for Rich^d Acton's Acc^t and Company, resolved that said Marshall shall be relieved from Confinement, and the order against the Treasurer to be paid on his Acc^t is now fully satisfied.

Thomas Bradley having entered into Continental Service paid Charges of Guard and other Expences, he is thereupon released from Confinement, his fine of £10 Assess'd the 9th Instant is remitted.

The Committee adjourns 'till to morrow morning at 9 O'Clock.

Wednesday Jan^y 15th 1777.

The Committee met according to Adjournment. Members present

Doct^r Henry Schnebly in the Chair

Mr Tho^s Brooke

Mr Matthias Neid

Mr Nich^s Smith

Mr Baltzer Gull

Mr Ab^m Knave

Mr Geo. Swingley

Capt And^w Lynck

James Clark Clk

Jacob Rowland was brought before this Committee, accused that he had published Lord Howe's Declaration and other Reports inimical to the united States of America upon examination acknowledged the Charge, ordered that said Rowland be kept under safe Guard, untill he shall produce said Declaration and give Bond and sufficient security in the Penalty of £1000

Conditioned that he shall well and truly make his personal appearance before this Committee at Elizabeth Town on Saturday the 25th day of this Instant Jan^{ry} then and there to answer such Charges as may be laid against him.

The Committee adjourns till 2 O'Clock at Elizth Town.

Committee met according to Adjournment. John Kershner Matthias Ridenour and Frederick Stydinger appeared.

William Massah apprentice of David Hellen appearing before Committee, having voluntarily, and by Consent of his Master, enlisted in the Continental Service, therefore resolved that the said David Hellen be exempted from marching with the Militia, paying expence of Guard, and behaving as a friend to the United States.

On Motion resolved that Philip Airhart serve as an appraiser of the several Waggon, Horses, Waggon Cloths Blankets &c. that can be procured for Colⁿ Joseph Smith's Battalion, in the Room of John Reynold's Sen^r who has resign'd. it is likewise resolved that every single Article should be apprais'd separately, and not on Average, that proper Returns be made thereof.

On Motion resolved that James Clark serve as a Comm^{ee} man in the Room of John Kershner who has resign'd.

The Committee Adjourns 'till Saturday next at 10 O'Clock, at Sharpsburgh.

Thursday Jan^y 16th 1777.

By special order, the Committee met at Elizabeth Town.
Members present

James Clark in the Chair

Doct ^r Wolby	Mr Stydinger
Capt ⁿ Lynck	Mr Nead
Mr Gull	Mr Graver
Mr Brooke	Mr Smith
Doct ^r Schnebly	Mr Ridenour

On application being made to Committee, resolved that George Swingley, Andrew Hearshman, with Philip Airhart (heretofore appointed in the Room of John Reynolds Sen^r) be

added to the former number of Appraisers elected to appraise the several Waggon, Horses, Gears, Waggon Cloths, Blankets &c. that can be procured for the use of Colⁿ Smith Battalion, that they appraise every Article seperately, and make proper Returns thereof.

Whereas Maj^r Swearingen hath made Complaint to this Committee, that a waggon & horses &c. are wanting for the use of Captⁿ Swingley's Company, and can by no means be got, therefore ordered that Captⁿ Swingley apply to persons residing in his District (Henry Frank Sen^r only excepted) for a Waggon, four horses, Gears, a Waggon Cloth &c. and in Case of Refusal, immediately to impress the same.

On Motion resolved unanimously that no hides of Cattle slaughtered for the use of the Militia or otherwise, be sold to any person not residing in this County, but retain'd for the Service thereof. Michael Peter appeared before this Committee charged with speaking and Acting inimical to the united States upon Examination partly acknowledged the Charge, tho' fully proven by sufficient Evidence therefore ordered that the said Mich^l Peter give Bond with sufficient Security, in the Penalty of £1000 Conditioned that he shall well and truly appear before this Committee, at any Time hereafter when they shall call for his appearance to give further answer to the afores^d Charge, and that he pay all expence of Guards &c.

Whereas Capt^{ns} Jacob Sharer & James Wallen have complained to this Committee that their Companies now in Jerusalem Town are suffering for want of Salt and that they have Just Reasons to believe, there is a Quantity of Salt conceal'd in said Town, therefore resolved that Frederick Kiger Sen^r be empowered to examine any Place that he may suspect there is any Salt more than necessary for Family use, see the Salt measured, not exceeding two Bushels, and the owner paid Thirty Shillings ʒ Bushel.

The Committee adjourns 'till Saturday next at 10 'Clock A. M. to meet at Sharpsburgh.

Friday evening Jan^y 17th 1777.

By special order the Committee met at Elizth Town. Members present

James Clark in the Chair

Capt ⁿ And ^w Lynch	Baltzer Gull
Doct ^r Peter Woltz	Matthias Nead
Fred ^k Stydinger	Jacob Graver

Jacob Shryock was brought before this Committee to shew Cause why he had so long delayed to enroll agreeable to the Resolves of Convention, on having refused to enroll was fin'd £5.

Andrew Miller and John Herman was brought before this Committee, to shew Cause why they so long delay'd to march with the Militia of this County upon Examination Acknowledged that they were determined not to march.

Ordered that said Miller and Herman be kept in close Confinement in the Tory Goal in this Town, untill a proper Guard can be procured to march them to their respective Company, or give bond & Security for marching and pay expence of Guards.

The Committee adjourns 'till to morrow at 10 O'Clock at Sharpsburgh.

Saturday Jan^y 18th 1777.

The Committee at Sharpsburgh According to Adjournment. Members present

Mr Thomas Brooke in the Chair

Doct ^r Hen ^{ry} Schnebley	Mr Matthias Nead
Mr Tho ^s Smith	Mr Abraham Kneff
Maj ^r Christ ^r Orindorf	Doct ^r Peter Woltz

Resolved unanimously that John Lighter be excused from Marching with the Militia at this time, and that he take Charge of Captⁿ James Smith's affairs untill he returns from Camp.

Resolved unanimously that Captⁿ Abraham Baker obtain an Order to press Waggons, horses, Gears, Waggon Cloaths Screws and Blankets for the use of his Company.

Resolved unanimously that Captⁿ Henry Butler obtain an order to press Waggon, horses, Gears, baggs, Waggon Cloaths, Screws and Blankets for the use of his Company.

Whereas Samuel Donaldson who was charged with speaking inimical to the common Cause, made appear to Committee that said Charge was groundless, there ordered that said Donaldson be discharged from Confinement and Costs.

Ordered that Captⁿ Henry Butler obtain an order on Mrs Mary Stull for two hundred Dollars to enable him to March his Company to Camp.

The Committee adjourns 'till to morrow at 8 O'Clock A. M.

Sunday Jan^y 19th 1777.

The Committee met according to Adjournment. All Members present as on Yesterday.

Resolved that all able bodied effective men march with the Militia or put an able bodied man in their Place.

Ordered that the following Persons be added to the number of those who were on the 30th of December last appointed to form the County into Companies, for the Purpose of relieving the Distresses of the Inhabitants and also to compel the Dunkards and Menonists to give their Assistance, if they should refuse upon Application viz.

William Good	John Rennestrick
Walter Wilson	Martin Line
Matthias Spangler	Leonard Bilmire
Peter Hamon	Michael Thomas
John Reynolds	John Middlecalf

Resolved that all those who have put such of their sons out of the way that have been enroll'd with any Captⁿ of the Militia, or suffer them to conceal themselves from their Officers, shall call them home as soon as possible and deliver them to some of their officers, or this Committee, otherwise to suffer the Consequences of such Neglect.

The Committee adjourns 'till to morrow at 9 O'Clock at Elizabeth Town.

Monday Jan^y 20th 1777.

The Committee met according to Adjournment. Members present

James Clark in the Chair

Mr Christopher Burket	Mr Matthias Ridenour
Capt ⁿ Andrew Linck	Mr Jacob Graver
Mr Fred ^k Stydinger	Mr Abraham Kneff
Mr Baltzer Gull	Mr Thomas Smith

Resolved unanimously that Dennis Davies Son of Colⁿ Rich^d Davies be exempted from marching with the Militia of this County for the present Campaign.

Resolved unanimously that Samuel Swearingen Son of Maj^r Charles Swearingen be exempted from marching with the Militia, as it appears to Committee, that he is not 16 years of Age.

John Fowler appeared before Committee made Evidence by Colⁿ Davies that his Son Joshua Fowler was uncapable at present to march with the Militia by Reason of an ulcer on his Breast, ordered that said Joshua Fowler be exempted from that Service.

Frederick Power appeared before Committee made proof by Maj^r Swearingen that his Wife was in a very low State of health, therefor ordered that said Power be exempted from marching with the Militia at this Time.

Resolved that Henry Sook be exempted from marching with the Militia, as it appears he is unfit for that Service.

Nathan Chainey was brought before Committee, charged that he had spoke inimical to the Common Cause, upon Examination acknowledged he never had enrolled in any Company of Militia of this State, tho' now was willing to enroll and march with Captⁿ James Smith, ordered that said Chainey give bond and sufficient Security in the Penalty of £500 for Performance thereof otherwise kept in close Confinement untill said Captⁿ Smith and Company shall march, be marched therewith and pay all expence of Guards.

Whereas Colⁿ Davies and Maj^r Swearingen have made Complaint to Committee, that Axes are much wanting for the use of their Battalion, ordered that they or any person or persons by them deputed apply to such persons who can conveniently spare them, and collect four Axes to each Waggon under their Command, and in Case of Refusal to impress the same, have them apprais'd, and make a proper Return thereof.

Whereas Captⁿ James Smith hath made Complaint to Committee, that Blankets and other Necessaries are much wanting to equip his Company to march to Camp, ordered that Captⁿ Smith or any person or persons by him deputed, be empowered to apply to persons where such necessaries can conveniently be spared, and in Case of Refusal to impress what may be necessary for his Company, have them apprais'd and make a proper Return thereof.

The Committee adjourns 'till to Morrow at 9 O'Clock A. M.

Tuesday Jan^y 21st 1777.

The Committee met according to adjournment. Members present

James Clark in the Chair

Doct ^r P. Woltz	Mr Fred ^k Stydinger
Mr Tho ^s Smith	Mr M. Nead
Mr M. Ridenour	Mr I. Graver
Mr B. Gull	Mr Tho ^s Brooke
Mr Ch ^r Burket	Doct ^r Henr ^y Schnebley
Capt ⁿ And ^w Link	

The Chairman laid before the Committee a Letter from the Hble the Council of Safety, enclosing a Requisition of the Honble The Continental Congress, that all aid and Assistance of Powers both Civil and Military in this State may be given to Gen^l Smallwood and all Officers under his Command in raising the new Levies. The Committee, in obedience thereto and from a sincere affection to the common Cause of Liberty, ever willing to Risque their Lives and fortunes in Defence thereof, Resolve

unanimously, that they will give every Assistance and Encouragement in their Power to the speedy compleating every Company under the said General's Command.

John Thompson, Gasper Store, Frederick Store and George Wile being brought before Committee, to shew Cause why they, and each of them have so long delay'd to march with their respective Companies to the Reinforcement of his Excellency Gen^l Washington, ordered that they and each of them give Bond with sufficient Security in the Penalty of £500, condition^d that they shall march with the first Company of Militia marching from this Place and Join their respective Companies, otherwise be kept in close Confinement in the Tory Goal for this County untill some Company shall march, be delivered to the Captⁿ thereof, and march'd for the purpose aforesaid and pay all Expence of Guards.

Ordered that Captⁿ James Smith take John McKee in the Room of Ignatius Simms, to march with the Militia in his Company.

On Motion resolved that Thomas Sprigg serve as a Committee Man in the Room of Doct^r Henry Schnebley who has resigned.

Henry Kinnoad Sen^r was brought before Committee charged that he had lodged and secreted his son Henry Kinnoad a Deserter from Captⁿ Farmer's Company in the Continental Service, contrary to the Laws of the united States, ordered that the said Henry Kinnoad Sen^r be kept in safe Custody, in the Tory Goal for this County untill he shall produce his said son Henry Kinnoad to Colⁿ Henry Shryock, or this Committee and pay all expence of Guards. Captⁿ Keller being summoned before Committee to answer the Complaint of Jacob Young Esq^r respecting a number of Blankets, Ruggs &c. the Property of said Young, which had been impressed by some of said Keller's Company without Authority of Committee. Ordered that Captⁿ Keller deliver or cause to be delivered the said Blankets Ruggs &c to Colⁿ Joseph Smith that he may take order therein.

Whereas Captⁿ Keller hath made Complaint to Committee that a number of Blankets are much wanting for the use of his

Company, ordered that Captⁿ Keller or any other person or persons by him deputed apply to persons residing in Colⁿ Smith's District, where Blankets can possibly be spared, and in Case of Refusal impress as many as may be necessary for his Company have them apprais'd and make a proper Return thereof.

The Committee adjourns 'till to Morrow at 9 O'Clock A. M.

Wednesday January 22^d 1777.

The Committee met according to adjournment. Members present

Mr Joseph Sprigg in the Chair

Captⁿ Lynck

Doct^r Woltz

Mr Stydinger

Mr Gull

Mr Nead

James Clark

Whereas Captⁿ Evan Baker made Complaint to this Committee that several Persons enroll'd in his Company have absconded disagreeable to Orders, therefore resolved that said Captⁿ Baker and Guard under his Command be empowered to apprehend such Absenters and them bring before this Committee to shew Cause thereof. That Captⁿ Baker and Guard apply for Horses where they can be spared, and in Case of Refusal, impress.

On Motion resolved unanimously that five hides sent by Colⁿ Stull from York Town, belonging to his Battalion, be delivered to Baltzer Gull, that s^d Gull deliver to Colⁿ Henry Shryock, Leather adequate to the value thereof, to be applied to publick Service and that Colⁿ Shryock pay this Committee the value of said Hides, for which they will be accountable.

On Motion ordered that a summons directed to Richard Acton, do issue for the following persons, that they and each of them do well and truly appear before this Committee at Elizabeth Town on Saturday the 1st day of February next to shew Cause why they and each of them have so long delay'd to enroll and Associate agreeable to the Resolves of the Hble the Convention of this State, or if enroll'd and Associated, why they

and each of them have so long neglected to march with some Company of Militia to the Reinforcement of his Excellency Gen^l Washington agreeable to the Requisition of the Hble the Continental Congress.

William Matthews	Geo. McDonnald
Mr Quin Clk at Jacques's	Mich ^l Mills
W ^m Clark	Elijah Mills
Rob ^t Foard	Joseph Hurst
Jam ^s Foard	Jacob Mills
Hen ^y Foard	Philip Pendall
Matthias Otto	Jacob Pendall
Sam ^l Forsythe	John Snider
Jacob Cloward	W ^m Shewall
Rob ^t Andrews	Geo. James
Arch ^d Brown	John Bear
Dan ^l Donovan	Hugh Gilliland
Rich ^d Richards	Tho ^s Philips
W ^m Skinner	W ^m Sampson
John Lyn	Char ^s McCullough
Edmond Guire	Fred ^k Snider
Barnabas McMachan	W ^m Welch
Joseph Thompson	Mich ^l Burnes
Pat ^k Kelley	W ^m or Mr Adams

The Committee adjourn 'till to Morrow at 9 O'Clock A. M.

Wednesday January 23^d

The Committee met according to Adjournment. Members present

Mr Thomas Sprigg in the Chair	
Doctr Woltz	Matthias Nead
Jacob Graver	Baltzer Gull
Fred ^k Stydinger	James Clark
Capt ⁿ Lynck	

Jonathan Jones was brought before Committee to shew Cause

why he had so long delay'd to march with the Militia, to the Reinforcement of Gen^l Washington, upon Examination, and by the Testimony of Doct^r Woltz he was Judg'd not capable to endure the Hardships of a Campaign therefore exempted.

The Committee adjourns for an hour.

The Committee met according to Adjournment

Peter Gansberger was brought before Committee, charged that he had deserted from Captⁿ John Cellar's Company, Contrary to the former Resolves of Committee. ordered that said Gansberger be kept in Close Confinement in the Tory Goal in Elizabeth Town, untill the Return of the Militia of this County and pay all Expence of Guards.

Ordered that Captⁿ Andrew Lynck pay Simon Bowman 7/6 out of the publick Money in his hands, it being for said Bowman's riding Express to Denton Jacques's.

Upon reconsidering the Resolution of this Committee on the 21st Instant with respect to Henry Kinnoad Sen^r the Committee do resolve that said Kinnoad be releas'd from Confinement, giving Bond and sufficient Security in the Penalty of £1000 Conditioned that he shall well and truly deliver up his Son Henry Kinnoad Deserter from Captⁿ Farmer's Company, to this Committee on Saturday the 8th day of February next, or on failure thereof, deliver up himself in Lieu of said Son that further order may be taken therein, and pay all expence of Guards.

The Committee adjourns 'till Saturday next at 10 O'Clock A. M.

Friday January 24th 1777.

By Special order the Committee met at Elizth Town. Members present

James Clark in the Chair

Doct^r Woltz

Captⁿ Lynck

Mr Gull,

Mr Stydinger,

Mr Nead,

Mr Graver

Mr Brooke informs Committee by Letter that Peter Shalley was under Guard by order of Captⁿ Keller at Jerusalem Town and by him ordered to appear before Committee immediately, that said Shalley was very sick uncapable to be removed from Bed. The Committee do resolve that a Letter be sent to Mr Brooke informing him that it is their opinion, that said Shalley be excused from appearing before Committee at This Time that Mr Brooke be empowered to take Bond with sufficient Security in the Penalty of £500 Conditioned that he the said Shalley shall well and truly appear before Committee at Elizth Town as soon as capable, to answer such Charges as may be laid against him and pay the expence of Guard.

Whereas Captⁿ Evan Baker complained to Committee that he was uncapable to march his Company to Camp for want of Money for that Purpose. Ordered that Captⁿ And^w Lynck pay Captⁿ Baker £12 out of the publick Money, and take his Receipt for the same.

The Committee adjourns 'till to morrow morning at 10 O'Clock.

Saturday Jan^y 25th 1777.

The Committee met according to Adjournment. Members present

Mr Thomas Brooke in the Chair

Capt ⁿ Lynck	Mr Graver
Mr Burket	Mr Ridenour
Mr Gull	James Clark
Mr Nead	Doct ^r Woltz
Mr Kneff	Thomas Sprigg appeared

Isaac Cooper appeared before Committee, charged that he had disputed the Authority of Convention and Committee in adding any one Member to said Committee in the Room of any who had resign'd, on Examination acknowledged the Charge. Ordered that said Cooper (on Acknowledging his fault therein, promising a more friendly Conduct for the future and paying the expence of summoning) be discharged.

On Motion resolved unanimously that no person or Persons impress any Horse or Horses in this County on any Emergency whatsoever, without written orders & Instructions from this Committee.

Jacob Rowland appeared before Committee, agreeable to Appointment. Ordered that said Rowland give Bond with sufficient Security in the Penalty of £2000. Conditioned that he shall neither say nor do anything inimical to the united States of America, agreeable to the Resolves of the Convention of this State with which he has comply'd.

Ordered that M^r George Styer deliver unto Thomas Brooke all the Powder left in his Care, and take said Brooke's Receipt for the same.

Ordered that Captⁿ Lynck pay William Seitzler £2.. 5. for attending Garret Glasson a sick Soldier.

Whereas, Captⁿ Bazil Williams hath made Complaint to Committee that a horse belonging to his Company is unfit for Service, resolved that Captⁿ Williams or any person or persons by him deputed be empowered to apply to any person residing in Colⁿ Smith's District for a horse fitting for Service, in Case of Refusal impress, have him apprais'd and make a proper Return thereof.

On Motion resolved unanimously, that no future Guards sent on any Expedition whatsoever, be entitled to any Payment for their Services, from Committee unless such Guards receive Written orders & Instructions from this Committee and make a proper return thereof.

A List of Accounts belonging to M^r Thomas Long for Necessaries furnish'd for the use of Captⁿ John Reynolds and Daniel Clapsaddles Companies in the flying Camp belonging to the State of Maryland Viz.

To 245 Meals at /7 ¢ for Capt ⁿ Clapsaddles Comp ^y	7.. 2.. 11
To 80 Meals @ /6 ¢ for Capt ⁿ Reynolds Comp ^y	2.. 0.. 0
To Drink ordered for D ^o	0.. 2.. 0

Total	9.. 2.. 11
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Resolved that the above Acc^{ts} be approved off in order for payment.

The Committee adjourns till to morrow at 10 O'Clock A. M.

Sunday Jan^y 26th 1777.

The Committee met accordg to Adjournment. Members present

Mr Thomas Brooke in the Chair

Doct^r Woltz

Mr Nead

Mr Kneff

Mr Gull

Mr Ridenour

Captⁿ Linck

Mr Graver

James Clark

Ordered that the Treasurer pay Colⁿ Joseph Smith 300 Dollars to be appropriated to the use of the Battalion under his Command.

Ordered that the sum of twenty shillings be paid by Captⁿ Linck to the Regulars under the Command of Colⁿ Shryock for their Services in apprehending Delinquents in Captⁿ Ab^m Baker's Company in Colⁿ Smith's Battalion, that an Account thereof be sent to Captⁿ Baker in order to be deducted out of such Absconders Wages, and that Captⁿ Baker remit the same to this Committee on his return.

Ordered that Captⁿ Basil Williams obtain an order to apply for a Waggon Cloth for the use of the Company under his Command, and in Case of Refusal impress the same.

The Committee adjourns 'till to morrow at 12 O'Clock.

Monday Jan^y 27th 1777.

The Committee met according to Adjournment. Members present

James Clark in the Chair

Doct^r Woltz

Mr Stydinger

Mr Kneff

Mr Gull

Mr Nead

Mr Ridenour

Captⁿ Linck

Whereas Maj^r Orindorf informed Committee that a Horse in the Team belonging to Captⁿ James Smith's Company had accidentally got hurt, thereby rendered unfit for present service.

Baltzer Gull having furnish'd another in his room, it appears inconvenient to call on the former appraisers appointed for Colⁿ Smith's Battalion, and for expediting the march of Capt^{ns} Smith's and William's Companies it is ordered that Matthias Ridenour and Jacob Rohrer appraise the aforesaid Horse and likewise two horses in Captⁿ William's Company, and any other Articles not yet appraised, and make a proper Return thereof.

Ordered that Captⁿ Andrew Linck pay John Leidey the sum of £13 out of the publick money in his hands which with £10 paid by Doct^r Schnebley is in full for Rations furnish'd for the use of Colⁿ Stulls Battalion.

John McKee appeared before Committee acknowledged that he had turned out voluntarily in Captⁿ James Smith's Company on Battalion Day prior to any engagement made with Ignatius Simms relative to marching in his Room, therefore ordered that said McKee march on his own Behalf and not in Lieu of said Simms.

The following is a List of Appraisment return'd by Matthias Ridenour and Jacob Rohrer agreeable to order

Simon Myer a Waggon Cloth app ^d	@	£ 3.. 00.. 0
Catharine Kotz a Blanket	@	1.. 10.. 0
Jacob Nicholl a Cover lid	@	2.. 00.. 0
William Scott a Blanket	@	0.. 10.. 0
Allen Miller a bay gelding w th Gears	@	34.. 10.. 0
Ezekiel Rhodes a Coverlid	@	1.. 15.. 0
James Brown a pair of Shoes	@	0.. 10.. 0
Nathan Barnes a brown horse with Star in forehead	@	33.. 00.. 0
Jacob Fisher a Leather Line	@	0.. 3.. 9
Baltzer Gull a Black horse	@	27.. 00.. 0

The Committee adjourns till to Morrow at 8 O'Clock.

EXTRACTS FROM THE CARROLL PAPERS.

(Continued from Vol. XII, p. 369.)

Aug. 27th 1770 [138]

Dr Charley

About one a Clock this day I Received y^r Letters from the 19th to the 24th inst^t by Mr Sharpes Quondam Gardener. His Companion who took Baltimore Towne in their way Hither as He pretends by mistake; I do not like His looks as they are very Sottish, He may buy Rum & get Rum, I will not allow him any, I Cannot doe it, without allowing it to all my other Servants which would be Endless they all Mess togeather & are allowed 3 Quarts of Cyder each p^r Day w^h I think full Allowance for any man.

I Have not had any offer for my tobo, if you are not offerd more than 2/ p^r Ct & 4 p^r Ct take it, if th^t be not offered I intend to ship it. I do not Believe you ever Enquire what tobo. sels at, if you do, you do not advise me which comes to the same thing. I Hear Barnes & Rudgate Has jockyed the scotch Factors at Rock Creek & Bladensburgh &c He has allowed the Planters the 4 p^r Ct & a good Price (the Price is yet a Secret) I suppose they are Supplied, But be it so or not, I would not offer my tob^o to th^m or any others, it is not the way to Carry it to market. I shall send the Monocasy & Elk Ridge notes to you by Mrs Darnall (they Amount to 71732 lb net) with Part of the Cash I Received of Jas: Johnson.

Tho^s Worthington of Baltimore Towne owes me £332:12:0 for 1247¹/₄ Bushells of Wheat sold Him He has twice disappointed me, I wrote to Him this day th^t if He did not Pay th^t sum to me in Annapolis before next Saturday, I would put His Acc^t in Suit. I write this to you th^t you may Receive it if He comes to you, & th^t if He does not, you may desier Johnson to Bring Suit ag^t Him on Monday next.

I do not intend to Towne untill some time after Mollys Delivery, were I to goe now, I should be willing to go again, after th^t Event & to stay to the Races, to go now & then would be makeing a Toil of a Pleasure, M^{rs} Darnall will go downe on any day Molly shall Appoint, & let me know th^t Day by the Bearer.

Make m^{os} of things th^t do not Require an immediate Answer, thus they will not slip y^r memory & I can give you my opinion when wee meet much better by words thⁿ by Writing, & it will save us both a great deal of unnecessary writing.

Pray let me know the Quantity of tobo we Have now at the Houses in S^t Marys County & at Indian Landing, the Rest I know, & I should know all in Case of an offer made to me.

Nothing is done to y^r Carriale, Because the wheelwright is more usefully employed. I Believe my old Chair wheels will Carry downe y^r Carriale, I shall be Positive by M^{rs} Darnall, the Carriale is kept on the Floor above the Dry well.

By the Gov^{rs} [illegible] they who know him not would be apt to Conclude th^t He wants Application. I am glad you Have got Squiers, I have not yet seen Him & I write this at 5 o'Clock post Meridiem State a Regular Acc^t ag^t Him, you must not Pay both Maroni & Williamson for takeing Him up, Maroni is to be paid for His time & Reasonable Expences. I think Molly Carryed downe the Phamphlet Coll Sharpe left there, or th^t it was sent with the things Coll Sharpe left there, I Cannot find it in the House. Did not M^r Deards take th^t Phamphlet with Him

I am very glad to Hear Molly is better, God grant you Both perfect Health & Happyness & a long Continuance of Both. I present my love & Blessing to you & Molly I am D^r Charly

Y^r Mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

P. S. We Have a prospect of a fine Crop of Corn & a good Crop of tobo Many Have Suffered much in their Wheat Rye & Oate Stacks what was out in Stacks is quite Ruined. I have

Suffered Considerably in an Oate stack at Heesons But my greatest damage is to my Meadows now in tendance at Valentines & below the Orchard, they are Gullyed & a vast Deal of the soil washed of by the Heavy Rains.

The Damage at my Mil is Repaired & you will Have flour some time this week. Pray desier Mr Deards to make me a fair Copy of Luke Davis's Acct. inclosed & send me the Copy & Originall by the next opportunity if He Cannot do it by this: When I see you I will tel you How to make y^r Book Conformable to it. Mr Browne Has sent Copies of the inclosed Invoices to Ireland.

Aug. 28th 1770 [139]

Dr Charly

I Received y^{rs} of yesterday by Mr Maroni who has Brought up Squiers. He is this Evening to Have 15 lashes well laid on & a Collar: Without Punishment there is no keeping Servants of any Sort, His Chastisement may deter my other Servants from following His Example. I shall not (as I wrote to you) go downe untill 8 or 10 days after Mollys Delivery Mrs Darnall will go downe next Saturday if Molly desiers it, w^h I shall know by the Boy who went downe this day. Be not uneasy about our tobo, if no offer before I go downe, we will then determine what to do with it. I wish the Heat of the Theatre may not Have been too great for Molly. Had I been with Her I Believe I should not Have Consented to Her going to the Play.

Pray desier Mr Deard to Post P^r Becrafts Acct. on His Copy inclosed & to make a fair Copy for Mr Becraft. Y^r Carriele by the Help of one of my old Chair wheels may go downe when you think Proper to send for it a Pole is making. Pray get Cloath & trimming &c Ready to new line my old Chair & Engage the Best workmen to do it. My love & Blessing to you & Molly I am Dr Charly

Y^r Mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

Aug. 31st 1770 [140]

Dr Charley

What you say about Persons attending At ware Houses to sell their tobo is very Right if such Persons have but a few hgds. & are not Generally knowne to the Purchasers, who will not Ride about the Country to pick up small Planters Crops. Our Case is quite different, we are knowne to Have a large Quantity for sale & I Have allways been applyed to. I am very Certain tobo. Has in Generall been sold at E: R: Landing from 22/6 to 25/ ster. p^r C^t what the Price has been Else where you Have not informed me, nor do I know, Had I asked above the Market Price you might with some propriety have put me in mind of Coll Loyds Wheat Stacks. I would not by any means offer our tobo to any one, th^t is not the way to sell, if you are applyed to offer it at 21/ & five shills. for the Cask I think we shall get th^t Price before the last of Sep^r if not I will then direct measures for shipping it. Do^r Stewarts Vessell is not yet Launched, we shall be in time for Her, if we want Her, & I doubt not others may be easily had on Charter. Buchanan is just Arrived, Henrick is to Load, West I am told dayly Expects another ship, others I doubt not are Expected; Where are they all to get tobo, there are not (ours Excepted) as I am told 50 hgds at our Ware House. Thus far I had got when I Received yrs of the 30th by Johny. I see no Reason to alter what I have wrote about our tobo. By Jordans & Henricks Accts it seems tob^o Multiplies in the Ware Houses. If you will take the trouble to Enquier at what Rate tob^o has sold & sells at Pigg Point, Queen Anns, Upper Marlbro, Bladensburgh & Rock Creek & informe me I shall be obliged to you, if you Can get yr information from those who have sold, or who have tobo. to sell. In case we shall be obliged to ship, I intend 200 hgds to Jo: Buchanan, & 100 Between Perkins & Philpot. Inclosed is a state of what tobo I think we have by us. If I am Materially out let me know it. I suppose Maroni informed you th^t Squiers was not whipt. He wears a Collar *in terrorem* to others, & as a Punishment w^h He justly deserves, but I think to take it of

soon. He is at work in my Vineyard with Turnbull & two others, they go on well & I think will at least Accomplish what is inclosed by the last of Nov^r & Turf the slopes. Everything looks well Corn, tob^o Potatoes & Pastures. I Judge we lost at the Severall Plantations about 30 in Plants of tobo by the floods.

Let me know by the Wagon How Molly does. I wish her quite well But Cannot Hope for it untill after Her Delivery, 8 or 10 days after th^t Event I will be with you. My love & Blessing to you both I wish Molly a Happy time. I am Dr Charley

Y^r mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

P. S. I send you the Monoccasi & E. R. Crop notes by M^{rs} Darnall, what Cash I Can spare I will Bring with me Pray do not Mention our Intention of shipping our tob^o to any one.

Sepr 4th 1770 [141]

Dr Charley

I have y^{rs} of the 2^d By Will. I have Cast up y^r list of tobo
w^h Amounts to 230458

Tob^o from Monoccasi Received 1770 45964

D^o Elk Ridge d^o 25768 d^o at Swan Creek 1498 27266

Tob^o now in hand supposing no Error in y^r list 303688

You must not take Everything to be true th^t is told you. If Henrick had His Loading secured so as to tell you He should Sail in a month, would He disappoint His Freighters to take ours from this Circumstance I Conclude, & I think with Reason, th^t He had His Loading to seek, so has Do^r Steuart, so I suppose Has Ploughman who Hourly Expects a ship, I suppose there are some other ships allready Arrived & in the same scituation & th^t some other ships may be dayly Expected, One Came into Patapsco the Day before yesterday to Hudson & Thompson. Hudson was with me yesterday & told me He Heard I intended to ship my tobo, this, if He Heard so, must Have Come from

you, A man who wishes to sell should not let it be knowne th^t He is willing to ship. He may Cast about so as to look out for & be Certain of securing a Freight, without letting His Intention be knowne. When Dick applyed to you you should have Proposed His Purchasing two thirds or half & shipping the Rest, to Have insisted on Liberty of Consignment for the whole, & a low freight. I told Hudson th^t if I shiped I expected to do it at a low freight. His Answer was th^t He would take it as low as any One & my Reply was th^t the lowest Carrier should Have it in Case I Could not sell to my likeing. Do^r Baker is gone to Rock Creek, Bladensburgh, Piscataway & Portobacco He promised to be Particular in His Enquiries about the Prices of tobo at those Places, the Quantity in the Houses, & the shipping to Carry it of; upon His Return, or soon after I shall determine to sell or ship. Hudsons Ship Came for wheat which is not to be had at this season. I told Him I should advise Him if I inclined to ship the freight I expect as low as £5:10:0, at most at £6 p^r Ton. I would prefer His to a London ship *Cæteris Paribus*, for it should be our Aime to make the Londoners Purchase.

I Rejoice in Molly's Happy Delivery & the little Girl it has Pleased God to send us, May she live to be a Comfort to you & Molly & may you Both live long to Enjoy th^t Comfort. I shall say what you desier to M^r Croxall. I shall be with you the 15th or may be sooner. I am Glad you are Pleased with y^r House I am Certain I shall be so. As I Refused 21/ p^r C^t I think it Just & Reasonable to Allow th^t Price to the Overseers. Dorsey will Pay His note & Luke Davis's Bale. the 15th inst. We are busy a Housing, Ploughing, in our wheat &c &c Cannot spare the little Cart or a hand to goe with it. Jo: Cary & H: Browne went Hence yesterday they will make Proper Enquiries after Benj^a Daniell. Maroni told me He was informed Drury was at York Towne in Pens^a I gave Mess^{rs} Cary & Browne Copies of y^r Advertisement. I Hear nothing of the Leather you last wrote for or was to write for to M^r Harding, I hope you did not forget it, our People will soon want shoes. I took of Squiers

Collar last Saturday. He is digging in the Vineyard. I have 4 white hands at work there & they go on very well. Turnbull has not been Drunk nor has He asked for Rum. I wish it may Hold. I have agreed with a very noted Overseer to oversee Peter Becrafts, Orzaners, Glens, Marshalls, Sams & Moses's Plantations. I allow Him £60 Curr^t p^r Annum I Believe He will not leave us. He made the year Before last as He tells me for Caleb Dorsey 1400 Bush: of wheat 800 of Oates 600 of Rye, 800 Barrills of Corn & 8000 lb of tobo with 12 sharers. A Gentⁿ told me He was well assured He made the above Quantity of Grain But th^t He did not know How much tob^o He made. My love & Blessing to you & Molly. I Hope she may not Catch Cold, nor any other bad Accident Attend Her laying in. I am
Dr Charley

Y^r mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Craroll

× had you sold at 22/6 would not the overseers have expected to be paid at that price?

Sep^r 5th 1770 10 o'clock A. M. [142]

Dr Charley

I this moment Received y^{rs} of the 3^d By Clem. The Roads are so Cut & so Rotten with the Continuall Rains th^t the Wheels sunk to the Axel Tree & I was forced to send Fresh Horses & Help as low as Brownes to get the Wagon Home. I do not think we have had 5 days since the 13th of August without Heavy Rains wh^h Prevent our getting in our seed Corn, washes our tob^o & prevents the Housing of it, there is no End of succoring it, & we have a great glut of wormes. I am afraid it will be a sickly fall. I am glad you did not offer y^r tob^o under 18/ ster p^r Ct I think you are too impatient, as most sellers are, no person buyes now, to keep the tob^o by them, they want it & must Consequently Come up to the Sellers Price, But goods offered are allways undervalued. Is there tob^o to fill the ships th^t want it? If so you was Right in offering ours at 8/ & 5/. In short I know not what to say, for I am quite indifferent whether Steph-

enson takes or Refuses the tob^o, as I think the Price will raise again, if not the Greater the Quantity we Have to ship, the Better the terms will be upon w^h we shall ship it. I am very glad to Hear Molly & the Child are well may they Continue so.
I am D^r Charley

Y^r mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

Oct. 2^d 1770 [143]

D^r Charley

We had a fine day & got Home a little after two o'Clock. This being a bad day, (it snowing hard) I have prepared a Copy of a letter for Philpot Buchanan & Perkins which I inclose with Ja^s Howard's letter. Pray let me know the sum you Charge in y^r Blotter as paid you by me when I went downe. If the Merchants allow us the 10 lb of tob^o p^r hgd as in justice they ought it will at 8^d p^r lb amount to £132:1:4 Oct. 4th. We expected a frost last night & Cut all our tob^o yesterday which was standing viz. about half a House. I suppose they have done so at all the other plantations, it would have been better had we ventured it, as we had no frost. It would have had time to Recover its Substance. We are very Backward with our Fother which dryes fast. Our Pastures are Exceeding fine & Cattle in fine order.

Pray let me know how you the Bantling & Molly does God Bless you all & Grant you Health. If anything materiall passing in the Assembly or Elsewhere let me know it. I am D^r Charley

Y^r mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

Oct. 11: 1770 [144]

D^r Charley

Desier M^r Deards to make me fair Copies of my letters to Mills, Perkins & Comp^a & of the list of Vines inclosed in my letter to Mills that is one Copy of each. My letter to Perkins must be Ent^d th^t to Mills with a list of Vine Cuttings need not

be Enter'd as I have a Copy Here. Direct the Copies to be wrote on post paper & let me Have them by Mr Ashton th^t I may Return th^m to you next Saturday Sennight. The originalls I send must goe by the Hudson if no opportunity offers sooner.

I Cannot at present write to Brownly & Web, as their Papers are with you. I shall do it as soon as I go to Annapolis. I am sorry for Davidge, Hammond is not to be trusted. We shall talk of this when we meet & I desier you will appropriate a sheet of Paper on wh^h set downe any Memorandums of Consequence which occur to you, th^t they may not be forgot & th^t wee may talk of them when we meet, things wanting an Immediate Answer you may Communicate by y^r letters.

I will send the shoes for the Island & the Quarters as soon as they are made we have not yet got the leather, it was to be at Landing last Monday I sent a Cart for it & was disappointed. I saw Billy Hammond yesterday & He promised to send for it on Friday. As we wrote in June for the leather it was a great neglect in Mr Harding not to send it sooner. I some time past spoke to Mr Ireland about the Badness of the Island Axes & shall again speak to him. He has been layed up with the Gout ever since I came up & every day growes more incapable of Serving us. His mind is weakened as much as His Body. I believe by what Mrs Darnell tells me th^t Magdelen will be of Service & do well. She has not as I Hear been drunk since she Came Here & the Wenches under Her fear Her, Such as she is, she was wanted for Mrs Ireland was & is nothing. Keating was to Blame about y^r Horse, Will told Him He was not to be used He took Him to Ride after Dennis Flanigan, a Hierling who stole a napkin two Towels & a Tea Cloath wh^h we Recovered. Flanigan was sent to prison & Po: Campbel also as an Evidence for want of security for His Appearance I believe th^m to be equally Rogues.

Oct^r 12 Has the inspection law with the Officers fees past the lower House & with what Alterations, what Has been done about the fees taken by the officers (as you wrote to me) Contrary to Law? Has anything been sayed about the Secretary's

selling the Clerkships. Allen Called on me last night & told me the Officers had given in lists of their fees, th^t by the list of 1750 it appeared the Secretarys demand was upwards of 400000 the Commissarys 400000, Calvert & Steuart 500,000, Scot as Examiner & Clerk of the Councill 100,000 exclusive of what part of their fees paid in money, if this be true the House will Certainly lessen their fees. My Vineyard does not go on as fast as I wish, it is a Heavy Job & I think it will Answer. I have finished two Ranges of Terraces & Turfed th^m, they look prettily & I believe you will like th^m when you see them. The Vineyard when Completed will be a great Ornament to the Plantation & I am in hopes the *Utile* will accompany the *dulce*. I suppose the workmen have quite done with the inside of y^r House & th^t y^r Furniture is Replaced in it. Allen tells me our Association is at an End & th^t the Merchants as formerly have wrote for all sorts of Goods: Is it so? Is the Vessell you are Concerned in arived from the streights? It is high time the stone Raised up Severn, was begun to be Brought to Towne, the Weather will dayly growe more windy. Pray send me the news Papers by M^r Ashton & Magazines & Phamphlets if you have any new ones. Do not forget to write to Graves about the Remaining Volumes of Vitruvius Britannicus & to send you M^r Arthur Youngs 6 weeks Tour thro the southern Countries of England and Wales, informing Him th^t you Have His 6 months Tour thro the north of Ireland in four Volumes. Desier Him also to send you The Maison Rustique there are severall Vols but How many I know not. Rachel & I are well. I hope to hear you, Molly & the Child are so. Allen told me you were all well, it was the most agreeable thing He could tell me. I present my love & Blessing to you all. God grant you Health.

I am D^r Charley

Y^r mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

P. S. I hope to see you about the last of the month, But you Cannot Come untill you Have Closed y^r letters by the Hudson & settled with M^r Hudson.

Octo^r 18th 1770 [145]

Dr Charley

I Have y^{rs} of the 13th by Mr Ashton. I wrote to Mr. Hudson & He Came to me yesterday. He says the Hudson was in Potomack the 13th inst & th^t His agent there advised Him she would be dispatched in ten days after she got to Her moorings. He goes next Saturday to Rock Creek & from thence will wait on you with the Capⁿ to give you Bills of Loading & to take y^r letters. The ship was detained in Patapsco by the inspectors not Attending the Ware House 8 or 10 days, for the low Tides after the Rain, in the Race week, detained the flats at E: R: Landing.

I shall Have the Leather tomorrow as I Hear this day th^t it is at the Landing. If Claytons machine Answers, it will be worth while to Have one Here.

Octo^r 19th Inclosed is a list of some tools for my Smiths. there is a set at Annapolis w^h Came in this or last year, among them I suppose an anvill & a vice. Robert the mason said He Could repair His tools, if He had a Bellows Anvill &c. such as He may want, for him keep with you, But if there be a Vice in the store, you need not put it in the List as Robert will not want th^t The shoemakers thread Mr Perkins sends us is so scandalously Bad th^t I would not Pick such from a Dung hill, the man He bought it of is a Rogue & betrays the Confidence He places in him. He may give as little Credit to this as He has done to other Complaints of the kind & I of Course have no Reparation. However pray send Him verbatim, what I write to you Pray direct my letter to Capⁿ Lewis, I know not His Christian name, & put the Letter to Mr Talbot under Cover to Mr Perkins. I have desierd M^{rs} Darnall to send you a Pot of Butter. I think I shall go next Monday to see Mr Croxall.

If the Assembly were inclined to Enquier into the sale of Clerkships it would not be Dificult to prove it, the Clerk's w^{ths} is notorious, they are in awe of Dulany or they would provide ag^t Both; it would not become you to promote it. If any thing

new in the Assembly Especially about the inspection law let me know it. I suppose little Molly begins to know her Mama. I hope you are all well, I shall be glad to Hear it. My love to you all. I am Dr Charley

Y^r mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

P. S. inclosed you have a duplicate of my letter to Mills &c. As I Hope Hudson will be with you before the last of the month, I shall then Expect you, I shall then kill a fatted Calf but not for a Prodigall son.

My Smiths say the Bristol or Blister'd steel sent to us is very bad & not fit for Axes or any Tools if you have wrote for th^t Countermand it & put German Steel in its Place. I think we send Annually for at least 200 lb of Steel. I could not get any Large Kettles from Boston, I therefore now write for them.

One set of the Best Flax Hackles, three to a set, to be bought of Webb in London, will Cost about £5:0:0 with a Key to streighten the Teeth, The Coursest Hackle to Contain 176 Teeth.

A Smiths Anvil

One d^o Vice

One inch scrue Plate

One half inch d^o

One Quarter Inch d^o

One Half Quarter inch d^o

German steel

12 Iron Kettles to Contain 60 Gallons each, if not to be procured of th^t size get th^m as nigh th^t size as you Can for These write to Mr Philpot.

Octo^r 24th 1770 [146]

Dr Charley

I shall write to the Persons you desier & Endeavour to Collect what money I Can But I am fearfull no dependance Can be Placed on Money to be Collected from them. I wrote to you

yesterday by one Bowers, who it seems is Bound with Myers & Cha: Ridgely, you will see by the Tenor of my letter th^t I told Him you would insist on £60 to be payed before the 20th of next month Beside Int^t He Carryed with Him & I suppose you have insisted on th^t sum accordingly. I Believe th^t Bond is not Payable untill next year. As you do not intend to use the Anvil Vice & Bellows you need not write for those Tools, But send th^m up whenever there is Room in the Wagon for them. The Wagon will go downe next week. Pray write for 100 lb of German steel, you forgot to mention the Quantity of steel in the store. If 100 lb th^t & the German steel you will write for will last untill we write for a fresh supply. I shall look out for an Overseer for you. I am takeing up my Potatoes. I think there will be a good Crop of them. I propose to Croxalls next Saturday. I have been kept at Home in Expectation of Bills from Jo: Dorsey for His & Luke Davis's Debt. As the wagon goes next week I shall not send on Saturday you may send the Papers & news Relating to the Assembly &c by the Bearer whose Cattle I have Pastured. My love & Blessing to you all I am
Dr Charley
Y^r most Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

P. S. Mr Deards writes Mr^s Darnall th^t Pinkney denies His Having Kersey to make Ellick a great Coat. Mr Deards must know He Delivered it the Boys Here & I Believe at y^r House say He had it & saw it severall times when they went for it. Pray desier Mr Deards to get it made or unmade. The Green stuf Mr Deards last sent up for Ellick I take to be Peniston & not Kersey if Charged as Kersey see at what price it is Charged & Compare it with A Remnant if any left in the store of the former green Kersey it is Certainly not so wide nor so fine it is very Coarse turn to the Invoice Book. Pray write for 6 strong matrasses stuffed well with Flocks or any Hair to be Closely & strongly Quilted & Covered with Burras or a Coarse strong Canvass for Servants. Wee are forced to give two matrasses out of the House to the Hierlings. I suppose you Have wrote for a

Sufficient Quantity of Rugs & Blankets. Mr Ireland is Better but Has not yet been out of His Roome. I shall Return from Croxalls on Tuesday & Hope to find you Here or to see you in a day or two afterwards if you Have seen the Capⁿ of the Hudson. if the Bearer sells His Cattle in two or three days you may write by Him, if He kills th^m He will stay longer May be Mr Allen may in th^t time be on the Return.

Octo^r 30th 1770 [147]

D^r Charley

I Returned this day from Mr Croxall's to whome I presented y^r kindest wishes & shewed Him what you wrote in y^r last to me. I found Him muched mended, But He still Complains of a Pain in His Head & Breast. I think He will do well.

I send you this by Mr Roberts by whome you may write & send the news Papers. I understand the lower House Rejected the Amendments proposed by the Upper is the law likely to Drop. Inclosed you Have Bills Amounting to £46:9:5. I hope to send you between £80 & £90 more by wagon, w^h will go downe on Thursday or Friday with flour Apples & a little Butter. You need not write for more than two Iron Kettles to Contain 60 Gallons Each as I am informed hogs will eate the Potatoes without Boyling. I think I shall make 1100 Bush^s from little if anything more than 4 Acres. I Hear the Capⁿ of the Hudson is to be with you this week if so I shall Expect you on Saturday. I shall write to the Back People by Mr Roberts who will Call on me as He Returns. My love & Blessing to you all. We are well & I am D^r Charley

Y^r mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

Octo^r 31st 1770 [148]

Dear Charley

I wrote to you yesterday by Mr Roberts & inclosed two sets of Bills of Exchange Amounting to £46:9:5. I now send you a Crop note I Received last week from Monoccasi you may give

it to Da: Carroll or any other to sell it. Inclosed you Have Jo: Dorseys Bills on Acc^t of Luke Davis £84 I shall informe you How to settle Luke Davis's & Jo: Dorseys Accts when I see you. Send me Stringers Protested Bill Endorsed by Jo: Dorsey.

Pray speak to Mr Tho^s Johnson to Bring on Ja^s Doningtons tryall, & to summon Mr John Ridgely of Baltimore Towne to Prove the goods Browne bought of Him last Nov^r or Dec^r and desier Him to speak to Ridgely on the Subject at next Baltimore County Court. John Kemp, Vachel Wharfield, John Hobbs, Cornelius Howard all of this County.

I write in a Hurry, we are well, I hope to Hear you all are so. My love & Blessing to you Molly & the little Girl. I am D^r Charley

Y^r mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

P. S. When will you want a steer.

Mrs Darnall's List

6 p^r of the Best Bed Blankets, Mrs Darnall says there are many pair in the store where they are Subject to the moth

6 Dz^{ns} of milk pans or what you can send Clayed & Browne sugar we are out of Both

30 Gallons of Molasses, the Cask is in the store, fill it immediately with water to Tighten it

All the Lamp Oyle you Can spare. Have you wrote to England for Lamp oyle

2 Brass Cocks

24 Yards of Green Peniston for the House Servants

In looking into some Papers of shot I found a pair of large Scissors wh^h were sent last year & thought to be missing

Some whiting

All the window glass you can spare. Let the Boxes of Glass be put on Beds of straw to avoid Breaking

4 lbs of the Smallest Birding shot

1 fagot of steel

4 felt Hats

The Smiths Tools if the Wagon will hold them
 4 Quier of my writing Paper
 500 yards of Welch Cotton the Best
 A Cask of 8^d nails if you have them
 12 Pair of Leading Lines
 Ruggs

Things sent by the wagon

4 Barrills of Apples Russetins, Golden Pippins, Newtown
 Pippins & Pairmains
 58 Winter Bon Chretiens in a Hamper
 An Empty wine Cask to be filled next spring
 15 lb of Butter
 24 Pair of negro shoes
 3 Casks of fine Flour 1 d^o midlings
 1 pair of Clogs for Mr Deards
 1 Basket of Pears out of the Orchard, I Cannot say they are
 good, as I never tasted them when Ripe nor Can I tell when
 they will Ripen

Nov^r 2^d 1770 [149]

Dr Charley

I Received y^{rs} of the 30th & 31st past by Mr Roberts & I am
 obliged to you for the Acc^t you give me of the Association, &
 Proceedings of the Assembly. The proposition you say was
 made by our great officers in my opinion, was both foolish &
 insolent, foolish in Publishing what they thought the least
 Reward adequate to their merit vzt. £600 Ster p^r Annum,
 & Contradicting what at least one of th^m is Reported to Have
 sayd Vz^t th^t the income of His Office did not nigh Amo^t th^t
 sum. Insolent in presuming th^t the Representatives of the
 People would demean themselves so much as to Enter into any
 treaty with them; Our great Officers may be men of Great merit
 & may deserve more than £600 ster Each p^r Annum, they by
 their offer declare they think they deserve at least th^t sum, But
 I am of opinion th^t there is not an aspierer to those offices who

would not accept either of th^m for an Annuall gratification of £300 ster.

I have measured my Potatoes & Have made from 4 Acres or very little more 1135 B^s. I am ploughing the ground over again & intend to Harrow it to lay it levell, & think in so doing I may gather 40 or 50 Bushells more. After my last Ridgeing the Potatoes, I Cut the Tops of two small Ridges & left the tops of two Ridges of the same size uncut. The unevenest Ridges produced 5 Bushels & a Peck, the Cut Ridges only two Bush^s A Result Contrary to what I was told would Happen. I expect you to morrow & shall dayly do so, untill I see you, w^h I much long for. My love. Blessing to you all. I am Dr Charley

Y^r mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

P. S. I Have wrote to all the Back People Pray seal the inclosed.

Nov^r 11th 1770 [150]

Dr Charley

We had a shower of Rain about an Hour & a Half after you left us w^h I hope did not reach you, if it did I hope it did not Penetrate y^r great Coates. Pray seal and send the inclosed. Pray write to M^r Tho^s Philpot for a turnep slicer. According to the Plate in the 3^d Volume of Youngs Six months Tour Page 440 Invented by Cuthbert Clarke The whole machine Can be Afforded Compleat for Two Guineas. My hogs begin to Eate the Raw Potatoes very well. I am told the steer th^t went downe yesterday is a very fine one, I shall be glad to Hear He proves so. My love & Blessing to you Molly & the little one. I am Dr Charley

Y^r mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

P. S.

Nov. 12th I Received y^{rs} by Mayara James with the money I lent Do^r Scot. I Hear the inspection law is again on the tapis, you will informe upon what Alterations I shall not send downe

next Saturday therefore write to me by Nancy & you may send the news Papers by Mr Jo: Burgess a Magistrate (if a more direct Conveyance does not offer) who will Come upon Saturday, & by the same opportunity let me know what passes in the Assembly & any other news. If Cook has not payed His Bond write to Jo: Hepburn for the money. Has the Capⁿ of the Hudson been with you.

Nov. 30th 1770 [151]

Dr Charley

I Rec^d y^{rs} of the 22^d & 26 instant wth the news Papers Magazines &c for which I thank you & w^h I will Return by Mr Ashton if He Can Carry them There is in the Aug^t Museum a very good Answer to Burkes Considerations &c. & in the Evening Posts Plenty of Abuse on the Ministry &c &c which not only they But their opposers Richly deserve for in my opinion an Honest man Can hardly be found among any of th^m. By the last Maryland Paper I see the Assembly has acted with more spirit & Resolution than I apprehended, they did well to order the Bill ag^t Selling of Offices & their Resolves to be printed, the Amendment proposed to the Bill by the Upper House will not I think redound to the Credit of either their Integrity or understanding. It was Certainly imprudent in the Gov^r to read the letter you mention, some Questions which I Hear were asked in the House in Consequence of His reading it must have mortified Him. Considering our Expences this year in Corn Building &c I think Molly will Readily acquies in not sending for any Superfluities, to do so at any time is foolish. Can fine furniture Cloaths &c be put in Competition, with a provision for Children. Pride & Vanity are not to be indulged at their Expen^{ce}, nor are you to be fools because many are so, what is decent & Convenient, you ought to Have, there is no end to a desier for finery of any sort, the Sumptuousity of Prices leaves roome for desier, I wish y^{rs} & Mollys to be governed by Reason, be Content with what is neat Clean & necessary.

I suppose the Hudson has been gone some time past as you

fix no time to Her Running aground or Being so still I think you might readily have got information on these Heads I Received the £20. I am in Hopes Frost will do as well as Rigges & I Believe I shall agree better with Him, He seems Humble & obliging, Rigges is Conceited: I have not seen Him since He left the Plantation I suppose He is ashamed to see me. Frost takes Charge of the Plantations next Monday. I Have a great deal of soft Corn at all the Plantations where the Virginia Corn was Planted what Crop of sound Corn I shall make I know not yet, we shall not want, for I think I shall make Here & at Suckys more good Corn than I made last year upon all my Plantations. I have Bought two Casks of nails of Jo: Dorsey at the Landing at 25 p^r C^t Ster. advance on Prime Cost w^h is very Cheap & Have this day drawne on Perkins & Company to Pay Him £13: 12: 6 w^h Bill I desier you will advise by the 1st opportunity. I Return you M^r Jenings's letter from what you sayed of the Phamphlet I had not the Curiosity to Read it. He is an obliging man, desier young to Collect Locust & Red Bud seeds, Hickory & Walnuts Pine Cones, you may get Honey Locust Pods at M^{rs} Ogles & Catalpa seeds in y^r owne Garden. I suppose the Poplars have shed their seeds, But they may be found along the Fences. I shall get all my Vineyard made w^h was Fenced in, before I leave this th^t is by the 15th of Dec^r & I shall sod it next spring, what I have to do will not be nigh so expensive as what I have done as I think I Can doe double the ground in the same space of time. I shall send the Wagon next week with Cyder &c you will prepare to load Her Back you know what glass is wanting, send what Hydes you Have, what Smiths Tools Can be sent wool &c what my Wagon Cannot Bring M^r Deards may get freight for by some Empty Dutch Wagon. If Cook has not discharged His Bond Press Hepburn for the money as I formerly Directed. We are well. My love & Blessing to you and Molly. I long to see Our little Girl. I am D^r Charley

Y^r mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

Dec. 5th 1770 [152]

Dr Charley

I have y^{rs} of the 2^d inst by Mr Ashton I am much Pleased with Frost my new Overseer He generally has the Character of a sober Diligent Industrious & managing man & not at all given to Rambling. He is very obligeing & sensible in His way & I Believe I shall be obliged often to Call on Him for His assistance advice & direction Here. In short from what little I saw of Rigges, (who appeared to be very Conceited & if I mistake not had to be Pleased) I would not give Him up for Rigges, & He assures me th^t the land Hands force of Horses &c Considered, Rigges never out cropped Him. His wife is an industrious neat Housewifely woman & is to manage the Dairies & Raise fowles of all Sorts at all the Plantations under Her Husband's Care. Linnens & woollens sufficient to Cloath Her Family she makes these things Considered I Cannot begrudge the Charge of the family He Brings with Him.

Poor Ireland Has not been out of His House since the 1st of Octo^r. He is much Better & geathering strength & Hope He may soon be able to stir about: I have all this while been overseer here, But I could ill perform th^t Duty in the late Cold weather you may be assured we shall plant no more of the Virginia Corn. I intended th^t the Raw Hydes should be sent up by the wagon. Pray send me an Invoice of the wines &c wh^h you have in y^r Vessell. I want to know the Particulars & what they Cost & if the wines should be landed I hope to heer they are good in their kinds. By the wagon, I send in a Box all the Books I brought up last spring, Robertsons History of Cha^s the 5th Excepted & the Tortois shell snuf Box which Motly left Here, keep the Box at Annapolis for I shall want it for Books next spring. I also send three Barrills of Cyder wh^h I think very good & I Believe M^{rs} Darnall will send a smal Pot of Butter As I suppose the wagon will not leave Towne before Friday evening you may send the Pensilvania & our Paper. By the inclosed Receipt you will see I Received £176:2:9: Credit Jo: Digges Acct by that sum & take Care of the Receipt:

I Believe I shall be able to Bring you about £120 of th^t money. You will also see by a Paper inclosed what sums I Have lately disbursed & Have Wages to Hierlings &c still to Pay. I am very sorry for poor Fran^s Key. His loss to His Family must be very great. How does Dor^r Scot doe? my Compliments to Him. Mr Ashton tells me the Gov^r is over the Bay. I suppose Johnson or Tilghman or Both will Call on me next Sunday or Monday in their way to Frederick you may write by them My love & Blessing to you & Molly. I long to kiss my little Granddaughter. God grant you all Health & Happyness. I am Dr Charley

Y^r mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

I have also order'd a Barrill of Apples to be sent, th^t is Russetins.

P. S. I thought I Could spare you twelve hogs, But I find we have only 80 at all the Plantations in the Pens & they are so small th^t they will hardly Answer myne & Irelands Family & the Overseers & Tradesmen & white servants. Pray send the tools mentioned in the inclosed list if you have them in the store, But the tenant saw being for Sibthorp must be bought and let me know what it Costs th^t I may charge it to Him Desier Mr Deards to Enter in His Blotter the tools wh^h He has not in the store th^t they may be wrote for. I send a Riddle, Return it with two new Ones of the same sort if you have them & another the finest you have to Clean Clover seed. Do not forget the window glass for the workhouse.

If Thomas has not engaged to supply you with hogs, Mr Jenifer may: The sooner you agree the Better, for Hogg meat I Believe will be very dear.

1770 Dec. 1st Received of John Willits One Hundred seventy Six Pounds two shill^s & nine pence In Consequence of an Agreement made with Him by Mess^{rs} Neale, Neale, Slye & Digges to sell Him 118 acres of Land Called Hazel Valley & I Hereby promise to Release my Right to the Land & in Case the s^d Genⁿ shall not Convey the s^d Land to the s^d Willits I hereby promise to Return the s^d Willits the Aforesaid sum.

1770	Cash Expended	
Nov ^r 26	By p ^d Kirbie Collar Maker	£ 5: 5: 0
Dec ^r 3	By Ebenezer Mackie for 4 Barrills of Pork	£16: 0: 0
	By Archi: Buchanan for 6 lb of Hyson & 2 lb of Common Tea	£ 9: 15: 0
" 4	By p ^d Inspecting 150 hgds of tob ^o	22: 10: 0
		53: 10: 0
March 28: 1771 [153]		

Dr Charley

M^{rs} Darnell sends a Pot of butter w^h she says Contains about 40 lb & very good & I send you a sheep w^h is pretty good but not nigh so good as one I found killed on Coming home My wheat here & greatest part at Heesons Promises well & things in generall are in as good order & as forward as I Could reasonably Expect Especially at Frosts who I think will do very well. Pray send me 5 Fathom of Rope of the size of the Piece old Ned will give you. I do not Expect it by Ned. I just now heard of the Chairs going downe tomorrow, & I write by Candle light My love & Blessing to you all & tell Molly to give littell Molly a kiss for me I know you will not do it I am Dr Charley

Y^r mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

P. S. I send two magazines & a Bundle of News Papers.

MEN OF MARYLAND SPECIALLY HONORED BY THE STATE OR THE UNITED STATES

[Additions and Corrections.]

HANSON, JOHN, 1715-1783.

Born in Charles county, Maryland, in 1715; pursued academic studies; member of the Maryland House of Delegates for a number of years; moved to Frederick county in 1773; active in pre-Revolutionary matters; treasurer of Frederick county in 1775; elected a Delegate to the Continental Congress, and served from February 22, 1781, until his death; President of the Congress one year, and in that capacity gave Gen. Washington the thanks of the Congress for the victory at Yorktown; died in Oxen Hill, Prince George's county, Md., November 22, 1783.

The State of Maryland, by Chapter 311, Acts of 1898, ordered a statue of Hanson to be placed in the National Hall of Statuary (the old Hall of the House of Representatives), U. S. Capitol.

CARROLL, CHARLES OF CARROLLTON, 1737-1832.

Add to entry page 205, vol. xii:

The State of Maryland, by Chapter 311, Acts of 1898, ordered a statue of Carroll to be placed in the National Hall of Statuary, U. S. Capitol.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

MONTHLY MEETINGS.

Meeting of November 12, 1917.—The regular monthly meeting of the Society was called to order at 8.30 p. m. by President Warfield.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved, with corrections.

The following were elected to active membership:

Mr. Ashwell C. Brewer,	Dr. Clapham Pennington,
Miss Nellie C. Williams,	Mr. Franklin Buchanan Owen,
Mr. Roland R. Marchant,	Mr. Gustavus Warfield Hobbs,
Hon. William O. Atwood,	Mr. David M. Newbold, Jr.
Mr. George W. Corner, Jr.,	Mrs. E. Edmund Foster,
Mrs. S. M. Gobright,	Mr. E. Edmund Foster,
Mr. Ellicott H. Worthington,	Miss Emma Marburg,
Miss Marie R. Camp,	

and the following to associate membership:

Miss Effie L. Henry,	Mr. Thomas Ashburner.
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The correspondence was read by the Corresponding Secretary and he made some comments upon the same and then read the following letter:

“ EUTAW SAVINGS BANK OF BALTIMORE.

Baltimore, Nov. 12, 1917.

Mr. George L. Radcliffe, Recording Secretary,
Maryland Historical Society,
Baltimore, Md.

Dear Mr. Radcliffe,

I have your favor of the 9th instant., notifying me that the Society at the recent meeting expressed the wish that I would take up with the Collector of Customs here the matter of secur-

ing for the uses of the Society, as far as they relate to Maryland, certain valuable historical papers now in the Collector's custody, being tax lists reported under Act of Congress passed July 9, 1798, providing for the valuation of Lands and Dwelling Houses, etc., within the United States.

I modestly accept this service which the Society has referred to me and will enter upon it as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) WM. M. HAYDEN."

On November 12, 1917, Mr. James S. Woodside died at his residence, No. 1020 St. Paul St. He was elected a member on October 13, 1913, on the nomination of Mr. Geo. L. Radcliffe.

Mr. Richard M. Duvall stated that Mrs. George W. Hodges had found an original plat of St. Mary's City, showing the location of the original Fort. President Warfield appointed Mr. Duvall a committee of one to write to Judge Stockbridge with the idea of securing the plat.

President Warfield suggested that since no formal paper had been secured for the evening, that therefore Gen. Trippe was under penalty to give the Society some of his most delightful reminiscences.

Mr. Trippe gave a most interesting account of a recent visit to historic spots in Virginia and touched upon circumstances in connection with the death of General Braddock. That it was claimed he had been killed by one of his own men; that Braddock's sash, once on exhibition in this library, had passed into the hand of one of America's greatest generals, General Zachary Taylor, and that it was given to him by a gentleman of New Orleans in 1846.

Mr. Spencer supplemented these remarks by reading from his book entitled, "Carlyle Family, &c. The Carlyle House and Its Associations," in the possession of The Maryland Historical Society, as follows: "The sash passed into the hands of General Washington at the death of Braddock in 1755. From

him Nellie Custis received it. She became Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, and one of her daughters (the eldest Frances Parke Lewis) married Colonel E. G. W. Butler of Louisiana, and he was the gentleman of New Orleans who presented the sash to General Taylor."

Mr. Spencer, after reading a letter from Captain Robert Orme, General Braddock's favorite aide-de-camp, to Colonel Washington, dated Nantasket Bay, November 10, 1755 (see "Letters to Washington," by S. M. Hamilton, Vol. 1, page 124, 1898) written in the most affectionate and friendly way, gave it as his belief that Orme had given the sash to Colonel Washington after Braddock's death.

General A. Leo Knott made a very interesting talk, in which he emphasized his views that the people of England did not favor war against the Colonies, but it was the work of George III's Pocket Boroughs; and that also the Revolutionary War was made in Germany.

At 10.15 p. m. the Society adjourned.

Meeting of December 10, 1917.—The regular monthly meeting of the Society was called to order at 8.30 p. m. by President Warfield.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

The Donations to the Cabinet were described by the Corresponding Secretary. Among these was a collection of genealogical notes made by the late Mrs. Katherine Costigan Dorsey, for many years a genealogical expert for the Library of Congress. The letter transmitting them to the Society read as follows:

" 66 West 49th Street, New York City,
December 9, 1917.

My dear Mr. Spencer,

I am sending to-day by parcel post, a box containing those of my mother's papers which seem most legible. In the books

I am sure there are valuable items, if any one has the time to go over them. I also enclose a short notice of her life, and would be most grateful if you would put it in the *Magazine* and send me two copies to above address.

Yours most sincerely,

(Mrs. Alyn Williams) ANNA DORSEY WILLIAMS."

The donations to the library were then described by the Corresponding Secretary.

The Secretary then announced the result of the election of new members to active membership as follows:

Mr. Henry Stockbridge, 3rd, Mr. Daniel R. Randall,
Miss Sara J. Gorsuch Young, Mr. Alexander Warfield Keefer.

The correspondence was then read, among which was a letter of invitation from The Maryland Society of Daughters of American Revolution to attend the presentation of an American Flag to the University of Maryland in commemoration of General Lafayette who received an LL. D. there in 1825. The reply from President Warfield, accepting the invitation, was also read.

Letters from the Librarian of Congress were then read, concerning a note written in pencil by J. H. B. Latrobe in Sander-son's *Lives of the Signers* at the end of the sketch of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, in which he stated that it was written by him.

The Necrology was read as follows: In August 1917, Mrs. Katherine Costigan Dorsey, in her 80th year. Mrs. Dorsey was elected a corresponding member of this Society on June 11, 1892. Mr. Radcliffe stated that the following had been written by her daughter, Mrs. Anna Dorsey Williams:

"Last August, there passed away at her childhood's home, "Summerseat," St. Mary's Co., Md., Mrs. Katherine Costigan Dorsey, in her eightieth year, widow of her cousin, Vernon Dorsey, both being grandchildren of Judge Clement Dorsey.

"Mrs. Dorsey, who combined great erudition with a charm-

ing simplicity, was a well-known authority on Maryland history and genealogy, a member of The Maryland Historical Society, and, for eleven years, the genealogical and heraldic expert of the Library of Congress. She also wrote for the faculty of Georgetown University the History of Father Thomas Copley, the first Jesuit in Maryland.

"Through her mother, Mrs. Dorsey was related to most of the families in Maryland and was descended, through the Smiths, from the ill-fated Lady Joanna Maria Somerset; the original papers substantiating her claims, being in the possession of Mrs. Dorsey's only son, Mr. Vernon M. Dorsey of Washington, D. C. Mrs. Dorsey's other surviving child, Anna Vernon Dorsey, writer and lecturer, is the wife of Alyn Williams, President of the Royal Miniature Society of London."

Judge Dawkins, in presenting eleven original letters to the Society, said:

"On behalf of Mrs. T. Murray (Augusta D. Schwartz) Maynadier, I want to present to The Maryland Historical Society certain correspondence passing between her relative, Mr. Wm. Vans Murray, who was the American Minister, Resident and Envoy Extraordinary to the Netherlands in 1797-1799. He was an intimate friend of Col. Henry Maynadier of Annapolis, to whom these letters were written.

The Maynadiers were Huguenots and came from Languedoc, France, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1712. They took up considerable land in Dorchester and Talbot Counties, Maryland. Daniel was the first son, and a clergyman of the Church of England. His son Daniel married Mary Murray and their son was a surgeon in the Revolutionary Army and assisted Dr. Gustavus Brown when Lafayette was wounded. He married Eliza Key, Aunt of Francis Scott Key and lived in Annapolis.

"Mrs. Maynadier's grandmother, Margaret Murray Maynadier, lived with Dr. Henry Maynadier until she married Daniel Dulaney Fitzhugh. The youngest child of Daniel Dulaney Fitzhugh was Margaret Murray Maynadier who married Dr.

Edward Schwartz. She was living at her great Uncle's at the time of his death and thru her Aunt Eliza Maynadier, came into possession of the Vans Murray Letters."

President Warfield thought that we ought to have a Service Flag, and stated that he would have the Acting Librarian to work on it. He also thought that we should have full rosters of the men, too, at the front.

The paper of the evening was then read by General Trippe, entitled "The Truth About Certain Great Events in Our History and Their Actors, Which Historians Have Overlooked or Avoided. Extracts from the Baylor Varia."

Major Pegram moved that a vote of thanks be tendered General Trippe for his highly interesting and instructive address.

Meeting of January 14, 1918.—The regular monthly meeting of the Society was called to order at 8:40 p. m. by Vice-President Stockbridge.

The hour of 9 p. m. having arrived, Mr. James W. Thomas was presented to the audience, who read a paper entitled "Fort Cumberland—The Strategic Position and Its Importance as a Military Centre of Its Time."

The election of members previously nominated resulted as follows:

Mrs. Mary Robinson Staton, active.

Miss Nellie C. Williams, life.

Mr. C. G. Newling, associate.

Judge B. Harris Camalier, active.

Under the head of miscellaneous business the following members were nominated for the various offices and committees of the Society for the year 1918:

President:

EDWIN WARFIELD.

Vice-Presidents:

W. HALL HARRIS,

DE COURCY W. THOM.

HENRY STOCKBRIDGE,

Corresponding Secretary:

RICHARD H. SPENCER.

Recording Secretary:

GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE.

Treasurer:

HEYWARD E. BOYCE.

Trustees of Athenæum:

J. APPLETON WILSON, *Chairman*.

WILLIAM H. GREENWAY,	CLINTON L. RIGGS,
A. LEO KNOTT,	EDWARD STABLER, JR.,
	H. OLIVER THOMPSON.

Committee on the Gallery:

MILES WHITE, JR., *Chairman*.

OGDEN A. KIRKLAND,	FARIS C. PITT,
J. WILSON LEAKIN,	RUXTON M. RIDGELY.

Committee on the Library:

LOUIS H. DIELMAN, *Chairman*.

WALTER I. DAWKINS,	EDWARD B. MATHEWS,
RICHARD M. DUVAL,	FREDERICK W. STORY,
JOHN H. LATANÉ,	THOS. J. C. WILLIAMS.

Committee on Finance:

PHILLIPS LEE GOLDSBOROUGH, *Chairman*.

WILLIAM G. BAKER,	CHARLES C. HOMER.
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Committee on Publications:

SAMUEL K. DENNIS, *Chairman*.

BERNARD C. STEINER,	JOHN M. VINCENT.
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Committee on Membership:

McHENRY HOWARD, *Chairman*.

JOSEPH Y. BRATTAN,	WILLIAM H. LYTLE,
JAMES D. IGLEHART,	ISAAC T. NORRIS,
EDWARD INGLE,	J. HALL PLEASANTS, JR.

Committee on Genealogy and Heraldry:

B. BERNARD BROWNE, *Chairman*.

FRANCIS B. CULVER,	WILLIAM J. MCCLELLAN,
F. SIDNEY HAYWARD,	GEORGE NORBURY MACKENZIE,
	THOMAS E. SEARS.

Committee on Addresses and Literary Entertainments:

ANDREW C. TRIPPE, *Chairman*.

WILLIAM M. PEGRAM,	LAWRENCE C. WROTH.
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On motion the meeting adjourned.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

* Died, 1917.

HONORARY MEMBERS

BRYCE, JAMES, LL. D. (1882).....London, England.
MARDEN, R. G. (1902).....13 Leinster Gardens, London, Eng.

LIFE MEMBERS.

BRIDGES, MRS. PRISCILLA B. (1910) ... { Care Dr. J. R. Bridges,
630 College St., Charlotte, N. C.
HILLS, MRS. WILLIAM SMITH (1914) .. { Care of Mrs. D. E. Waters,
Grand Rapids, Mich.
HOWARD, MISS ELIZABETH GRAY (1916) .. 901 St. Paul Street.
NICHOLSON, ISAAC F. (1884).....Albion Hotel.
NORRIS, ISAAC T. (1865).....1224 Madison Ave.
ZWINGE, JOSEPH, S. J.....Loyola College.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

ALDERMAN, E. A., LL. D. (1893).....University of Va., University, Va.
APPLEGARTH, A. C. (1895)..... { 35 Southampton Ave.,
Chestnut Hill, Phila., Pa.
BATTLE, K. P., LL. D. (1893).....Chapel Hill, N. C.
BELL, HERBERT C. (1899).....R. D. Route, No. 4, Springfield, O.
BIXBY, WM. K. (1907)..... { King's Highway and Lindell Ave.,
St. Louis, Mo.
BLACK, J. WILLIAM, PH. D. (1898)....56 Pleasant St., Waterville, Me.
BROCK, R. A. (1875).....257 21st St., Philadelphia, Pa.
BROOKS, WILLIAM GRAY (1895).....257 S. 21st St., Phila., Pa.
BROWN, HENRY JOHN (1908).....4 Trafalgar Sq., London, W. C., Eng.
BRUCE, PHILIP A. (1894).....Norfolk, Va.
BUEL, CLARENCE C. (1887).....134 E. 67th St., New York.
*CHAILLE-LONG, COL. C. (1897).....506 A St., N. E., Washington, D. C.
COCKEY, MARSTON ROGERS (1897).....117 Liberty St., New York.
DE WITT, FRANCIS (1857).....Ware, Mass.
*DORSEY, MRS. KATE COSTIGAN (1892)..Cong. Library, Washington, D. C.
EARLE, GEORGE (1892).....Washington Ave., Laurel, Md.
EHRENBERG, RICHARD (1895).....Rostock, Prussia.
FORD, WORTHINGTON C. (1890).....1154 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.
GARDINER, ASA BIRD, LL. D., L. H. D. {
(1890) } Union Club, New York.
HALL, HUBERT (1904).....Public Record Office, London.

- ### ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.

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| ANDREWS, CHARLES LEE (1911)..... | 42 Broadway, New York. |
| ASHBURNER, THOMAS (1917)..... | { Care Babcock & Wilcox Co.,
Chicago, Ill. |
| BALTZELL, HENRY E. (1914)..... | Wyncote, Montgomery Co., Pa. |
| BALTZELL, WM. HEWSON (1915)..... | Wellesley, Mass. |
| BELL, ALEX. H. (1916)..... | 313 John Marshall Pl., Wash., D. C. |
| BENSON, HARRY L. (1910)..... | { 330 North Maple Avenue,
East Orange, N. J. |
| BLANTON, MARGARET G. (1916)..... | University of Wisconsin. |
| BOND, BEVERLY W., JR. (1909)..... | Purdue University, Lafayette, Ind. |
| BOURGEOISE, MRS. A. CALVERT (1911) | { 4156 Westminster Place,
St. Louis, Mo. |
| BRERETON, MISS GRACE P. (1915).... | 2924 Upton St., Washington, D. C. |
| BRUMBAUGH, GAIUS MARCUS, M. D.
(1915) | { 905 Mass. Ave., N. W., Wash., D. C. |
| BUCHANAN, BRIG. GEN. J. A. (1909)... | 2210 Massachusetts Av., Wash., D. C. |
| BULLITT, WILLIAM MARSHALL (1914) | { 1200 Lincoln Bank Bldg.,
Louisville, Ky. |
| CALLAHAN, GRIFFIN C. (1902)..... | 12 S. 60th St., Phila., Pa. |
| CALVERT, CHARLES EXLEY (1911)..... | 34 Huntley St., Toronto, Canada. |
| CORBALEY, MISS VAVRINA (1917).... | { Care Mrs. Sarah W. Linsley,
Mt. Washington, Md. |
| COURTS, MRS. JAMES (1917)..... | Kalorama Ave., Washington, D. C. |
| COVINGTON, PROF. HARRY F. (1914).... | Princeton, N. J. |

- DAVIES, G. C. (1917) 44 Langdon St., Cambridge, Mass.
 DENT, LOUIS A. (1905) 2827 15th St., Washington, D. C.
 DEVITT, REV. EDW. I., S. J. (1906) Georgetown College, Wash'n, D. C.
 DUVAL, HENRY RIEMAN (1916) 32 Nassau St., New York.
 EATON, G. G. (1894) 416 N. J. Ave., S. E., Wash., D. C.
 EATON, PAUL, M. D. (1917) 5712 Forbes St., Pittsburg, Pa.
 FITZHUGH, E. H. (1908) Neptune Park, New London, Conn.
 FLOWER, JOHN SEBASTIAN (1909) 611 18th St., Denver, Colorado.
 FOY, MISS MARY E. (1913) Box 90, R. D. No. 1, Los Angeles, Cal.
 GIFFORD, W. L. R. (1906) St. Louis Merc. Lib. Assoc., Mo.
 GORDON, MRS. BURGESS LEE (1916) 601 7th Ave., Spokane, Wash.
 GUILDAY, REV. PETER, PH. D. (1915) ... Catholic University, Wash., D. C.
 HARRISON, WM. PRESTON (1906) 1021 Laurence St., Chicago, Ill.
 HENDERSON, C. E. (1907) Easton, Md.
 HOFFMAN, SAMUEL V. (1910) 258 Broadway, New York.
 HOPKINS, SAMUEL GOVER (1911) 923 Chestnut St., Phila., Pa.
 JANIN, MRS. VIOLET BLAIR (1916) 12 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.
 JOHNSON, B. F. (1916) 926 Pennsylvania Ave., Wash., D. C.
 JOHNSON, FREDERICK T. F. (1915) McGill Building, Washington, D. C.
 LAKE, RICHARD P. (1900) Bank of Commerce, Memphis, Tenn.
 LEACH, MISS MAY ATHERTON (1907) 2118 Spruce St., Phila., Pa.
 LITTLE, REV. FRANCIS K. (1916) Rhinebeck, N. Y.
 LITTLEJOHN, MRS. MALCOLM (1916) ... Flushing, L. I., N. Y.
 MCFADDEN, CHAS. (1906) 32 Walnut St., Phila., Pa.
 MCPHERSON, MRS. ROBERT W. (1916) ... 1240, 19th St., N. W., Wash., D. C.
 MARTIN, MRS. EDWIN S. (1905) New Straitsville, Ohio.
 MORSE, WILLARD S. (1908) 120 Broadway, N. Y.
 MOSS, JESSE L. (1906) Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.
 *MYERS, THOMAS M. (1916) 262 Barrow St., Jersey City, N. J.
 NORRIS, OCTAVIUS J. (1916) 905 Cathedral St.
 OWEN-CHAHON, MRS. M. D. (1913) The Woodward, Washington, D. C.
 PHILLIPS, MRS. A. LATIMER (1910) Shepherdstown, W. Va.
 PIERCE, MRS. WINSLOW S. (1915) "Dunstable," Bayville, Long Island.
 RAYNER, WILLIAM B. (1914) 2641 Connecticut Ave., Wash., D. C.
 ROGERS, JAMES S. (1910) 528 Farwell Bldg., Detroit, Mich.
 SCOTT, MISS CORINNE LEE (1918) Camden, S. C.
 SELLMAN, JOHN HENRY (1917) 38 Beechcroft Rd., Newton, Mass.
 SHEIB, S. H. (1907) Hermitage Club, Nashville, Tenn.
 SPENCER, JOHN THOMPSON (1907) 1507 Spruce St., Phila., Pa.
 STEVENSON, GEO. URIE (1915) 1600 Broadway, New York City.
 STEWART, FOSTER (1917) 26 W. Palm Lane, Phoenix, Ariz.
 THRUSTON, R. C. BALLARD (1917) Columbia Building, Louisville, Ky.
 WILLIAMS, MISS LOUISA STEWART }
 (1916) } Bayville, L. I., N. Y.
 WILSON, SAMUEL M. (1907) Trust Co. Building, Lexington, Ky.

ACTIVE MEMBERS

Where no P. O. Address is given, Baltimore is understood.

- ABERCROMBIE, DR. RONALD L. (1916)...10 Whitfield Road, Guilford.
 AGNUS, FELIX (1883).....American Office.
 ALBERT, TALBOT J. (1917).....Stafford Hotel.
 AMES, JOSEPH S. (1910).....Charlcote Place, Guilford.
 AMMIDON, DANIEL C. (1916).....4014 Greenway, Guilford.
 ANDREWS, C. McLEAN, PH. D. (1907)...Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.
 ANDREWS, MATTHEW PAGE (1911).....849 Park Ave.
 APPOLD, LEMUEL T. (1902).....Care of Colonial Trust Co.
 ARMISTEAD, GEORGE (1907).....1025 Cathedral St.
 *ARTHURS, EDWARD F. (1899).....628 Equitable Building.
 ATKINSON, ALFRED (1917).....1819 N. Calvert St.
 ATKINSON, ROBERT A. (1914).....216 W. Madison St.
 ATWOOD, WILLIAM O. (1917).....18 E. Lexington St.

 BAGBY, GEORGE P., JR. (1916).....716 Continental Bldg.
 BAILY, G. FRANK (1908).....28 S. Hanover St.
 BAKER, J. HENRY (1910).....2008 Park Ave.
 BAKER, WILLIAM G. (1916).....Care of Baker, Watts & Co.
 BALDWIN, SUMMERFIELD (1899).....1006 N. Charles St.
 BARCLAY, MRS. D. H. (1906).....14 E. Franklin St.
 BARRETT, HENRY C. (1902)....."The Severn."
 BARROLL, HOPE H. (1902).....Chestertown, Md.
 BARROLL, L. WETHERED (1910).....609 Keyser Bldg.
 BARROLL, MORRIS KEENE (1917).....Chestertown, Md.
 BARRY, SAMUEL H., (1916).....715 Greenmount Ave.
 BARTLETT, J. KEMP (1900).....2100 Mt. Royal Ave.
 BARTON, RANDOLPH (1882).....207 N. Calvert St.
 BARTON, RANDOLPH, JR. (1915).....207 N. Calvert St.
 BASSETT, MRS. CHAS. WESLEY (1909)..2947 St. Paul St.
 BAYARD, RICHARD H. (1914).....707 Gaither Estate Bldg.
 BAYLESS, WM. H. (1915).....1101-2 Fidelity Building.
 BEACHAM, ROBERT J. (1914).....Emerson Tower Bldg.
 BEALMEAR, HERMAN (1916).....1610 W. Lanvale St.
 BEATSON, J. HERBERT (1914).....Fidelity Trust Co.
 BEATTY, MRS. PHILIP ASFORDBY (1910).229 E. North Ave.
 BENJAMIN, ROLAND (1915).....Fidelity and Deposit Co. of Md.
 BENSON, CARVILLE D. (1913).....1301 Fidelity Building.
 BENSON, CHAS. HODGES (1915).....515 N. Carrollton Ave.
 BERKELEY, HENRY J., M. D. (1906)...1305 Park Ave.
 BERRY, MISS CHRISTIANA D. (1907)...322 Hawthorne Road, Roland Park.
 BERRY, JASPER M., JR., (1907).....225 St. Paul St.
 BERRY, THOMAS L. (1909).....702 Fidelity Building.
 BEVAN, H. CROMWELL (1902).....10 E. Lexington St.

- BIBBINS, ARTHUR BARNEVELD (1910)...2600 Maryland Ave.
 BIBBINS, MRS. A. B. (1906).....2600 Maryland Ave.
 BICKNELL, REV. JESSE R. (1910).....117 W. Mulberry St.
 BILLSTEIN, NATHAN (1898).....The Lord Balto. Press.
 BIRCKHEAD, P. MACAULAY (1884).....Chamber of Commerce.
 *BIRNIE, CLOTWORTHY, M. D. (1892)....Taneytown, Md.
 BISHOP, WILLIAM R. (1916).....1700 St. Paul St.
 BIXLER, DR. W. H. H. (1916).....418 N. Potomac St., Hagerstown, Md.
 BLACK, H. CRAWFORD (1902).....11th Floor Fidelity Building.
 BLACK, VAN LEAR (1902).....11th Floor Fidelity Building.
 BLACKFORD, EUGENE (1916).....200-4 Chamber of Commerce.
 BLAKE, GEORGE A. (1893).....1212 N. Charles St.
 BLAND, J. R. (1902).....U. S. Fidelity & Guaranty Co.
 BLAND, RICHARD HOWARD (1916).....Catonsville, Md.
 BONAPARTE, CHAS. J., LL. D. (1883)....601 Park Ave.
 BOND, CARROLL T. (1916).....1125 N. Calvert St.
 BOND, G. MORRIS (1907).....315 P. O. Building.
 BOND, JAMES A. C. (1902).....Westminster, Md.
 BOND, THOMAS E. (1910).....726 Reservoir St.
 BONSALE, LEIGH (1902).....511 Calvert Building.
 BORDLEY, DR. JAMES, JR. (1914).....201 Professional Bldg.
 *BOSLEY, ARTHUR LEE (1912).....1406 Mt. Royal Ave.
 BOSLEY, MRS. ARTHUR LEE (1912).....1406 Mt. Royal Ave.
 BOULDIN, MRS. CHARLES N. (1916)....The Homewood Apts.
 BOWDOIN, HENRY J. (1890).....1000 Maryland Trust Bldg.
 BOWDOIN, MRS. WM. GRAHAM (1916)...1106 N. Charles St.
 BOWDOIN, W. GRAHAM, JR. (1909)....401 Maryland Trust Building.
 BOWEN, HERBERT H. (1915).....American Office.
 BOWEN, JESSE N. (1916).....825 Equitable Building.
 BOWERS, JAMES W., JR. (1909).....16 E. Lexington St.
 BOWERS, THOMAS D. (1916).....Chestertown, Md.
 BOWIE, CLARENCE K. (1916).....3020 N. Calvert St.
 BOYCE, FRED. G., JR., (1916).....11 E. Chase St.
 BOYCE, HEYWARD E. (1912).....3 N. Calvert St.
 BOYDEN, GEORGE A. (1911).....Mt. Washington.
 BRADFORD, SAMUEL WEBSTER (1916)....Belair, Md.
 BRANDT, MISS MINNIE (1908).....11 E. Read St.
 BRATTAN, J. Y. (1902).....American Office.
 BRENT, MRS. ALICE HARRIS (1916)....The St. Paul Apts.
 BRENT, MISS IDA S. (1900).....1116 Bolton St.
 BRENT, ROBERT F. (1908).....10 E. Lexington St.
 BROMWELL, MISS HENRIETTA E. (1912).646 Williams Parkway, Denver, Col.
 BROWN, ALEXANDER (1902).....712 Cathedral St.
 BROWN, EDWIN H., JR. (1904).....Centreville, Md.
 BROWN, FRANK (1896).....16 W. Saratoga St.
 BROWN, JOHN W. (1890).....201 Ridgewood Rd., Roland Park.
 BROWN, KIRK (1897).....1813 N. Caroline St.

- BROWN, MRS. LYDIA B. (1902).....1412 Bolton St.
 BROWN, MRS. WILLIAM T. (1916).....Chestertown, Md.
 BROWNE, ARTHUR LEE (1913).....215 E. Fayette St.
 BROWNE, B. BERNARD, M. D. (1892)....510 Park Ave.
 BROWNE, REV. LEWIS BEEMAN (1907)...Havre de Grace, Md.
 BRUCE, OLIVER H. (1913).....Westernport, Allegany Co., Md.
 BRUCE, OLIVER H., JR., (1913).....Cumberland, Md.
 BRUCE, W. CABELL (1909).....8 W. Mt. Vernon Place.
 BRUNE, H. M. (1902).....841 Calvert Building.
 BUCHANAN, THOMAS GITTINGS (1917)..116 Chamber of Commerce.
 BUCKLER, THOMAS H., M. D. (1913)....1201 St. Paul St.
 BURGAN, REV. H. W. (1910).....Annapolis, Md.
 BURTON, PAUL GIBSON (1913).....108 E. Lexington St.
 BUZBY, S. STOCKTON (1902).....1214 St. Paul St.

 CALDWELL, CHARLES C. (1917).....Liberty Grove, Md.
 CALWELL, JAMES S. (1911).....215 St. Paul St.
 CAMP, MISS MARIE R. (1917).....Rock Hall, Md.
 CAREY, JAMES (1913).....2220 N. Charles St.
 CAREY, JAMES (1917).....838 Park Ave.
 CAREY, JOHN E. (1893)....."The Cedars," Walbrook.
 CARROLL, CHAS. BANCROFT (1915).....Doughoregan Manor, Howard Co., Md.
 CARROLL, DOUGLAS GORDON (1913)....The Washington Apt.
 CARY, WILSON MILES (1915).....18 E. Eager St.
 CATOR, FRANKLIN P. (1914).....13-15 W. Baltimore St.
 CATOR, GEORGE (1911).....803 St. Paul St.
 CATOR, SAMUEL B. (1900).....711 N. Howard St.
 CHALMERS, REV. ANDREW BURNS (1914)2032 Park Ave.
 CHAPMAN, JAMES W. JR. (1916).....2016 Park Ave.
 CHAPMAN, W. J. (1916).....2306 Eutaw Place.
 CHESTNUT, W. CALVIN (1897).....1137 Calvert Building.
 CLARK, MISS ANNA E. B. (1914).....The St. Paul Apartments.
 CLOSE, PHILIP H. (1916).....Belair, Md.
 COAD, J. F. (1907).....Charlotte Hall, Md.
 COALE, W. E. (1908).....109 Chamber of Commerce.
 COCKEY, EDWARD A. (1917).....Glyndon, Md.
 COHEN, MISS BERTHA (1908).....415 N. Charles St.
 COHEN, MISS ELEANOR S. (1917).....810 St. Paul St.
 COLEMAN, WILLIAM C. (1916).....16 E. Eager St.
 COLGAN, EDWARD J., JR. (1915).....330 E. 22d St.
 COLSTON, FREDERICK M. (1911).....3 N. Calvert St.
 COLSTON, GEORGE A. (1914).....3 N. Calvert St.
 COONAN, EDWARD V. (1907).....121 W. Lafayette Ave.
 COOPER, MISS H. FRANCES (1909).....1415 Linden Ave.
 COOPER, J. CROSSAN (1912).....Stock Exchange Building.
 COPPER, WILLIAM B. (1916).....Chestertown, Md.
 CORBIN, MRS. JOHN W. (1898).....2208 N. Charles St.

- DULANEY, HENRY S. (1915).....Charles St. and Forest Aves.
DUNTON, WM. RUSH, JR., M. D. (1902) ..Towson, Md.
DUVALL, RICHARD M. (1902) 16 E. Lexington St.
DUVALL, W. E. P. (1914) 608 Fidelity Building.

EARLE, SWEPSON (1916) 512 Munsey Building.
ELLIOTT, MRS. LILY TYSON (1915) Washington Apts.
ELMER, LEWIS S. (1916) 2011 Callow Ave.

FAHNESTOCK, ALBERT (1912) 2503 Madison Ave.
FALCONER, CHAS. E. (1915) 1630 Bolton St.
FAURE, AUGUSTE (1916) { 115 E. Magnolia Ave.,
Wildwood, N. J.

*FECHTIG, JAMES AMOS, M. D. (1893) ..1303 N. Charles St.
FERGUSON, J. HENRY (1902) Colonial Trust Co.
*FIELD, CHARLES W. (1902) 801 Calvert Building.
FISHER, D. K. E. (1916) 1301 Park Ave.
FISHER, MISS GRACE W. (1907) 1420 Park Ave.
FITCHETT, THOMAS H. (1916) Merc. Trust and Deposit Co.
FORD, MISS SARAH M. (1916) 1412 N. St., N. W., Wash'n, D. C.
FOSTER E. EDMUNDS (1917) 924 Equitable Bldg.
FOSTER, MRS. E. EDMUNDS (1917) 23 E. 22nd St.
FOSTER, MRS. REUBEN (1909) 3507 N. Charles St.
FRANCE, DR. JOSEPH I. (1916) 15 W. Mt. Vernon Place.
FRANCE, MRS. J. I. (1910) 15 W. Mt. Vernon Place.
FREEMAN, BERNARD (1916) Orkney Road, Govans, Md.
FREEMAN, J. DOUGLAS (1914) Orkney Road, Govans, Md.
FREEMAN, MRS. JULIUS W. (1917) 2731 St. Paul St.
FRICK, GEORGE ARNOLD (1914) 906 Maryland Trust Bldg.
FRICK, J. SWAN (1895) Guilford.
FRICK, JOHN W. (1916) 835 University Parkway.
FRIEZ, JULIEN M. (1917) The Homewood.
FRIEZ, LUCIEN L. (1917) The Homewood.
FURST, FRANK A. (1914) Liberty Road and Chestnut Ave.
FURST, J. HENRY (1915) 23 S. Hanover St.

GAGE, MRS. EMMA ABBOTT (1911) Annapolis, Md.
GAITHER, THOMAS H. (1892) 815 Gaither Building.
GAITHER, THOMAS H., JR. (1916) 508 Cathedral St.
GALLAGHER, MRS. HELEN M. P. (1916) ..1017 N. Calvert St.
GAMBEL, MRS. THOS. B. (1915) 2017 St. Paul St.
GANTT, MRS. HARRY BALDWIN (1915) ...Millersville, Md.
GARDINER, ASA BIRD, JR. (1912) 520 N. Calvert St.
GARDNER, P. H. (1917) 705 Beaumont Ave., Govans, Md.
GARNETT, J. MERCER (1916) 1239 Calvert Building.
GARRETT, JOHN W. (1898) Garrett Building.
GARRETT, ROBERT (1898) Garrett Building.

- HANCE, MRS. TABITHA J. (1916).....2330 Eutaw Place.
HANCOCK, JAMES E. (1907).....2122 St. Paul St.
HANN, SAMUEL M. (1915).....108 E. Elmhurst Rd., Roland Park.
HANSON, MRS. AQUILLA B. (1907).....Ruxton, Md.
HARLAN, HENRY D., LL.D. (1894).....Fidelity Building.
HARLAN, WILLIAM H. (1916).....Belair, Md.
HARLEY, CHAS. F. (1915).....Title Building.
HARLOW, JAMES H. (1916).....Darlington, Md.
HARRINGTON, EMERSON C. (1916).....Annapolis, Md.
HARRIS, W. HALL (1883).....Title Building.
HARRIS, WM. HUGH (1914).....1219 Linden Ave.
HARRISON, GEORGE (1915).....1615 Eutaw Pl.
HARRISON, J. EDWARD (1915).....1601 Linden Ave.
HART, ROBERT S. (1915).....Fidelity Building.
HATTER, MRS. MARY S. C. (1914).....1623 Bolton St.
HAYDEN, WILLIAM M. (1878).....Eutaw Savings Bank.
HAYWARD, F. SIDNEY (1897).....Harwood Ave., Govans, Md.
HENRY, J. WINFIELD (1902).....107 W. Monument St.
HENRY, MRS. ROBERTA B. (1914).....Waterbury, Md.
HENRY, W. LAIRD (1915).....Cambridge, Md.
HILKEN, H. G. (1889).....133 W. Lanvale St.
HILL, JOHN PHILIP (1899).....712 Keyser Building.
HINKLEY, JOHN (1900).....215 N. Charles St.
HISKY, THOMAS FOLEY (1888).....215 N. Charles St.
HODGDON, MRS. ALEXANDER L. (1915)...Pearsons, St. Mary's Co., Md.
HODGES, MRS. MARGARET R. (1903).. { 142 Duke of Gloucester St.,
Annapolis, Md.
HODSON, EUGENE W. (1916).....Care of Thomas & Thompson.
HOFFMAN, J. HENRY, D.D.S. (1914)...1807 N. Charles St.
HOFFMAN, R. CURZON (1896).....1300 Continental Trust Building.
HOLDEN, DR. FLOYD T. (1916).....2034 N. Calvert St.
HOLLANDER, JACOB H., PH.D. (1895)..Johns Hopkins University.
HOLLAWAY, MRS. CHAS. T. (1915).... { Care Mrs. Chas. R. Hollaway,
Normandie Heights, Md.
HOMER, CHARLES C., JR. (1909).....Mt. Washington.
HOMER, FRANCIS T. (1900).....40 Wall St., New York, N. Y.
HOMER, MRS. JANE ABELL (1909).....Riderwood, Baltimore Co.
*HOPPER, P. LESLEY (1892).....Havre de Grace, Md.
HOPKINS, JOHN HOWARD (1911).....Sta. E, Mt. Washington Heights.
HORSEY, JOHN P. (1911).....649 Title Building.
HOWARD, CHARLES MCHENRY (1902)...1409 Continental Trust Building.
HOWARD, CHARLES MORRIS (1907).....1011 Munsey Building.
HOWARD, HARRY C. (1907).....939 St. Paul St.
HOWARD, JOHN D. (1917).....209 W. Monument St.
HOWARD, MCHENRY (1881).....901 St. Paul St.
HOWARD, WM. ROSS (1916).....Guilford Ave. and Pleasant St.
HUBBARD, WILBUR W. (1915).....Keyser Building.

- KING, HENRY S. (1916).....13-19 W. North Ave.
 KIRK, HENRY C. (1908).....207 Longwood Road, Roland Park.
 KIRK, MRS. HENRY C. (1917).....207 Longwood Road, Roland Park.
 KIRKLAND, OGDEN A. (1889).....Belcamp, Md.
 KLINEFELTER, MRS. EMILY HENDRIX }
 (1915) } Chestertown, Md.
 KNAPP, CHARLES H. (1916).....1418 Fidelity Building.
 KNOTT, A. LEO (1894).....Stafford Hotel.
 KOCH, CHARLES J. (1905).....2915 E. Baltimore St.
 KNAPP, CHARLES H. (1914).....Fidelity Bldg.
 KNOX, J. H. MASON, JR., M. D. (1909)..804 Cathedral St.
 KOONTZ, MISS MARY G. (1917).....307 Augusta Ave., Irvington, Md.
 LACY, BENJAMIN (1914).....1630 Linden Ave.
 LANAHAN, MRS. CHAS. M. (1915).....Washington Apartments.
 LANKFORD, H. F. (1893).....Princess Anne, Md.
 LATANÉ, JOHN HOLLADAY, PH. D., LL. D. (1913) Johns Hopkins Univ.
 LEAKIN, J. WILSON (1902).....814 Fidelity Building.
 LEDERER, LEWIS J. (1916).....Marine Bank Building.
 LEE, H. C. (1903).....23 W. 20th St.
 LEE, JOHN L. G. (1916).....511 Calvert Building.
 LEE, RICHARD LAWS (1896).....232 St. Paul St.
 LEGG, JOHN C., JR. (1916).....110 E. German St.
 LEHR, ROBERT OLIVER (1916).....302 Exchange Place.
 LEVERING, EDWIN W. (1916).....Calvert and German Sts.
 LEVERING, EUGENE (1895).....26 South St.
 LEVY, WILLIAM B. (1909).....11th floor, Fidelity Building.
 LINTHICUM, J. CHARLES (1905).....217 St. Paul St.
 LIVEZEY, E. (1907).....22 E. Lexington St.
 LJUNGSTEDT, MRS. A. O. (1915)..... }
 } Chevy Chase, D. C.
 } Box 46, Route 3.
 LLOYD, C. HOWARD (1907).....1120 St. Paul St.
 LLOYD, HENRY (1902).....Cambridge, Md.
 *LLOYD, UPSHER (1909).....Easton, Md.
 LOCKWOOD, WILLIAM F., M. D. (1891)..8 E. Eager St.
 LUCAS, WM. F., JR. (1909).....221 E. Baltimore St.
 LYELL, J. MILTON (1916).....1163 Calvert Building.
 LYON, MISS MARY A. (1916).....1209 Madison Ave.
 LYTLE, WM. H. (1908).....1220 St. Paul St.
 McADAMS, REV. EDW. P. (1906).....Glyndon, Md.
 McALLISTER, FRANCIS W. (1916).....520 Woodlawn Rd., Roland Park.
 McCLELLAN, WILLIAM J. (1866).....1208 Madison Ave.
 McCOLGAN, CHARLES C. (1916).....12 E. Lexington St.
 McCORMICK, ROBERDEAU A. (1914)...McCormick Block.
 McCORMICK, THOMAS P., M. D. (1902)..1421 Eutaw Place.
 McELROY, MRS. ELIZABETH M. (1917)...1619 McCulloh St.
 McEVOY, JAMES, JR. (1909).....533 Title Bldg.

MULLEN, MISS ELIZABETH L. (1916)...	206 E. Eager St.
MULLEN, REV. ALBERT OSWALD (1912)...	329 E. Lafayette Ave.
MULLER, MISS AMELIA (1917).....	807 W. Fayette St.
MURRAY, DANIEL M. (1902).....	Elk Ridge, Md.
MURRAY, RT. REV. JOHN G. (1908)....	Chas. St. Av. and Univ. Parkway.
MYERS, WILLIAM STARR (1902).....	15 Alexander St., Princeton, N. J.
MYERS, WILLIS E. (1911).....	10 E. Fayette St.
NASH, CHARLES W. (1908).....	225 St. Paul St.
NEAL, REV. J. ST. CLAIR (1914).....	Bengies, Baltimore Co., Md.
NELLIGAN, JOHN J. (1907).....	Safe Deposit and Trust Co.
NELSON, ALEXANDER C. (1907).....	210 E. German St.
NEWCOMER, WALDO (1902).....	National Exchange Bank.
NICODEMUS, F. COURTNEY, JR. (1902)...	43 E. 18th St., New York, N. Y.
NICOLAI, CHARLES D. (1916).....	Wallis Apts.
NORRIS, JEFFERSON D. (1914).....	128 W. Lanvale St.
NORRIS, LLOYD (1917).....	Patterson Park.
OBER, GUSTAVUS, JR. (1914).....	1217 N. Charles St.
OBER, J. HAMBLETON (1915).....	300 N. Charles St.
ODELL, WALTER GEORGE (1910).....	3021 W. North Ave.
O'DONOVAN, CHARLES, M. D. (1890)....	5 E. Read St.
OFFUTT, T. SCOTT (1908).....	Towson, Md.
OLIVER, THOMAS H. (1890).....	Univ. of Va., Charlottesville, Va.
OLIVER, W. B. (1913).....	1st floor, Garrett Building.
OLIVIER, STUART (1913).....	The News.
O'NEILL, THOS. (1907).....	S. W. Cor. Charles & Lexington Sts.
OSBORNE, MISS INEZ H. (1917).....	Havre de Grace, Md.
OWEN, FRANKLIN B. (1917).....	804 Guardian Bldg., Cleveland, O.
OWENS, ALBERT S. J. (1912).....	1408 Fidelity Building.
OWENS, EDWARD B. (1915).....	130 S. Charles St.
PACA, JOHN P. (1897).....	620 Munsey Building.
PACHE, JOSEPH (1917).....	1532 Harlem Ave.
PAGE, WM. C. (1912).....	Calvert Bank.
PAGON, W. WATTERS (1916).....	{ Curtis Bay Ordnance Depot, South Baltimore P. O.
PARKE, FRANCIS NEAL (1910).....	
PARKER, JOHN (1916).....	Peabody Institute.
PARR, MRS. CHAS. E. (1915).....	18 E. Lafayette Ave.
PARRAN, MRS. FRANK J. (1908).....	144 W. Lanvale St.
PARRAN, WILLIAM J. (1903).....	124 S. Charles St.
PASSANO, EDWARD B. (1916).....	Towson, Md.
PATTERSON, J. LER. (1909).....	802 Harlem Ave.
PATTON, MRS. JAMES H. (1913).....	Guilford Manor Apts.
PAUL, MRS. D'ARCY (1909).....	"Woodlands," Gorsuch Ave.
PEARCE, JAMES A., LL. D. (1902).....	Chestertown, Md.
PEARRE, AUBREY, JR. (1906).....	207 N. Calvert St.

- PEGRAM, WM. M. (1909).....U. S. Fidelity and Guaranty Co.
 PENNIMAN, THOS. D. (1911).....922 Cathedral St.
 PENNINGTON, DR. CLAPHAM (1917)....1530 Bolton St.
 PENNINGTON, JOSIAS (1894).....Professional Building.
 PENNINGTON, MRS. JOSIAS (1916)....1119 St. Paul St.
 PERINE, E. GLENN (1882).....18 E. Lexington St.
 PERINE, MRS. GEORGE CORBIN (1916)...1105 Cathedral St.
 PERINE, WASHINGTON (1917).....607 Cathedral St.
 PERKINS, ELISHA H. (1887).....Provident Savings Bank.
 PERKINS, WILLIAM H., JR. (1887).....700 Equitable Building.
 PETER, ROBERT B. (1916).....Rockville, Md.
 PHELPS, CHARLES E., JR. (1903).....1028 Cathedral St.
 PITT, FARIS C. (1908).....912 N. Charles St.
 PITT, HERBERT ST. JOHN (1915).....912 N. Charles St.
 PLEASANTS, J. HALL, JR., M. D. (1898).201 Longwood Road, Roland Park
 POLLITT, L. IRVING (1916).....1715 Park Place.
 POPE, GEORGE A. (1902).....214 Chamber of Commerce.
 POST, A. H. S. (1916).....Mercantile Trust and Deposit Co.
 POULTNEY, WALTER DE C. (1916).....St. Paul and Mulberry Sts.
 POWELL, WM. C. (1912).....Snow Hill, Md.
 POWELL, MRS. WM. S. (1916).....Ellicott City, Md.
 PRESTON, JAMES H. (1898).....City Hall.
 PRETTYMAN, CHARLES W. (1909).....Rockville, Md.
 PRICE, DR. ELDRIDGE C. (1915).....1012 Madison Ave.
 PRICE, WILLIAM H. J. (1917).....825 Equitable Building.
 PURDUM, BRADLEY K. (1902).....Hamilton, Md.

 RABORG, CHRISTOPHER (1902).....Hotel Rennert.
 RADCLIFFE, GEO. L. P., PH. D. (1908)...615 Fidelity Building.
 RANCK, SAMUEL H. (1898).....Public Lib'y, Grand Rapids, Mich.
 RANDALL, BLANCHARD (1902).....200 Chamber of Commerce Bldg.
 RANDALL, DANIEL R. (1917).....841 Calvert Building.
 RANDOLPH, GEORGE F. (1916).....B. & O. Building.
 RAWLS, W. L. (1905).....700 Maryland Trust Building.
 RAYNER, A. W. (1905).....8 E. Lexington St.
 REDWOOD, MRS. MARY B. (1907).....918 Madison Ave.
 REED, MRS. EMILIE MCKIM (1909)....512 Park Ave.
 REESE, MRS. J. EVAN (1917).....110 Edgevale Road, Roland Park.
 REIFSNIDER, JOHN M. (1895).....Westminster, Md.
 REMSEN, IRA, LL. D. (1901).....214 W. Monument St.
 REVELL, EDWARD J. W. (1916).....13 E. Read St.
 RICH, MRS. EDWARD L. (1915).....Catonsville, Md.
 RICH, EDWARD N. (1916).....Union Trust Building.
 RICHARDSON, ALBERT LEVIN (1902)....2127 N. Charles St.
 RICHARDSON, MRS. HESTER D. (1901)...2127 N. Charles St.
 RICHMOND, MISS SARAH E. (1915).....Md. State Normal School.
 RIDGELY, MISS ELIZA (1893).....825 Park Ave.
 RIDGELY, MRS. HELEN W. (1895).....Hampton, Towson, Md.

- RIDGELY, JOHN, JR. (1916).....Towson, Md.
RIDGELY, MARTIN E. (1914).....Wilna, Harford Co., Md.
RIDGELY, RUXTON M. (1892).....707 Gaither Building.
RIEMAN, MRS. CHARLES ELLET (1909) { Dumbarton Farms,
Rodger's Forge P. O., Md.
RIEMAN, CHARLES ELLET (1898).....14 N. Eutaw St.
RIGGS, CLINTON L. (1907).....Riggs Bldg., Charles and Read Sts.
RIGGS, LAWRASON (1894).....632 Equitable Building.
RIORDAN, CHARLES E. (1907).....204 Exchange Place.
RITCHIE, ALBERT C. (1904).....601 Title Building.
RITTER, WILLIAM L. (1878).....541 N. Carrollton Ave.
ROBERTS, MRS. JOHN B. (1916).....1116 St. Paul St.
ROBINSON, RALPH (1894).....1310 Continental Building.
ROBINSON, WILLIAM CHAMP (1917)....32 South Street.
ROGERS, MRS. HENRY W. (1914).....Riderwood P. O., Balto. Co., Md.
ROLLINS, THORNTON (1911)..... { Md. National Bank,
Baltimore and Calvert Sts.
ROHRER, C. W. G., M. D. (1910).....Lauraville Sta., Baltimore, Md.
ROSE, DOUGLAS H. (1898).....10 South St.
ROSE, JOHN C. (1883).....P. O. Building.
RUTH, THOS. DE COURSEY (1916).....3 Midvale Road, Roland Park.
RYAN, WM. P. (1915).....1825 E. Baltimore St.
RYLAND, SAMUEL P. (1909).....810 American Building.
SADTLER, MRS. GEO. W. (1908).....26 E. 25th St.
SADTLER, HOWARD P. (1915).....1163-69 Calvert Bldg.
SADTLER, MRS. ROSABELLA (1902).....1415 Linden Ave.
SAMPSON, MRS. LEILA B. (1912).....Sandgates, St. Mary's Co., Md.
SANFORD, JOHN L. (1916).....317 Munsey Building.
SAPPINGTON, A. DERUSSY (1897).....733 Title Building.
SEARS, THOMAS E., M. D. (1894).....658 W. Franklin St.
SELLERS, MATTHEW B. (1915).....801 N. Arlington Ave.
SELLERS, SAMUEL CAMPBELL (1914)....801 N. Arlington Ave.
SELLMAN, JAMES L. (1901).....Merchants-Mechanics Nat'l. Bank.
SEMMES, JOHN E. (1884).....10 E. Eager St.
SEMMES, JOHN E. JR. (1916).....825 Equitable Building.
SETH, FRANK W. (1914).....Easton, Md.
SETH, JOSEPH B. (1896).....Easton, Md.
SHIPPEN, MRS. REBECCA LLOYD POST. {
(1893) 5 Argyle Apts., Portsmouth, Va.
SHIRK, MRS. IDA M. (1914).....Indianapolis, Ind.
SHRIVER, J. ALEXIS (1907).....Wilna, Harford Co., Md.
SHOWER, GEORGE T., M. D. (1913).....3721 Roland Ave.
SHYROCK, THOMAS J. (1891).....1401 Madison Ave., P. O. Box 717.
SILL, HOWARD (1897).....11 E. Pleasant St.
SIMMONS, MRS. H. B. (1916).....Chestertown, Md.
SIOUSSAT, MRS. ANNA L. (1891).....Lake Roland, Md.
SIOUSSAT, ST. GEORGE LEAKIN (1912)..Brown Univ., Providence, R. I.

- SKINNER, MRS. HARRY G. (1913).....Mt. Washington, Md.
 SKINNER, M. E. (1897).....805 Calvert Building.
 SKIRVEN, PERCY G. (1914).....3900 Cottage Ave.
 SLOAN, GEORGE F. (1880).....Roland Park.
 SMITH, MRS. WALTER PRESCOTT (1913)..18 E. Madison St.
 SMITH, REV. CHESTER MANSFIELD (1912)1204 Mt. Royal Ave.
 SMITH, FRANK O. (1913).....Washington, D. C.
 SMITH, HENRY LEE, M. D. (1912).....2701 Calvert St.
 SMITH, JOHN DONNELL (1903).....505 Park Ave.
 SMITH, RUSH W. DAVIDGE (1917).....3600 Reisterstown Road.
 SMITH, THOMAS A. (1909).....Ridgely, Caroline Co., Md.
 SMITH, TUNSTALL (1917).....The Preston.
 SNOWDEN, WILTON (1902).....Central Savings Bank Building.
 SOLLERS, SOMERVILLE (1905).....1311 John St.
 SOPER, HON. MORRIS A. (1917).....The Marlborough Apts.
 SPENCER, RICHARD H. (1891).....Earl Court.
 STABLER, EDWARD, JR. (1876).....Fayette and Hanover Sts.
 STARR, RT. REV. WM. E. (1914).....Corpus Christi Church.
 STEELE, JOHN MURRAY, M. D. (1911)...Owings Mills, Md.
 STEELE, MISS MARGARET A. (1917)...Port Deposit, Md.
 STEIN, CHAS. F. (1905).....S. E. Cor. Courtl'd & Saratoga Sts.
 STEINER, BERNARD C., PH. D. (1892)...1038 N. Eutaw St.
 STERLING, GEORGE S. (1902).....228 Light St.
 STEVENSON, H. M., M. D. (1904).....1022 W. Lafayette Ave.
 STEWART, DAVID (1886).....1005 N. Charles St.
 STEWART, REDMOND C. (1916).....207 N. Calvert St.
 STIRLING, REAR ADMIRAL YATES (1889)..209 W. Lanvale St.
 STOCKBRIDGE, HENRY (1883).....11 N. Calhoun St.
 STOCKBRIDGE, HENRY, 3D (1917).....11 N. Calhoun St.
 STONE, JOHN T. (1894).....N. W. Cor. Baltimore & North Sts.
 STORK, JOHN WILLIAM (1914).....424 N. Charles St.
 STORY, FREDERICK W. (1885).....217 Court House.
 STRAN, MRS. KATE A. (1900).....1912 Eutaw Place.
 STRICKLAND, C. HOBART (1916).....Guilford Apts.
 STUART, MISS SARAH ELIZABETH (1915).Chestertown, Md.
 STUMP, MARY FERNANDEZ DE VELASCO }
 (1917) } Belair, Md.
 STURDY, HENRY FRANCIS (1913).....Annapolis, Md.
 SUDLER, MISS CAROLINA V. (1915).....2602 Shirley Ave.
 SUMMERS, CLINTON (1916).....101 Roland Ave.
 SUMWALT, MRS. MARY H. (1909).....2921 N. Calvert St.
 SUTTON, MRS. EBEN (1911).....515 Park Ave.
 SWINDELL, MRS. WALTER B. (1913).....506 Roland Ave., Roland Park.
 SYMINGTON, WM. W (1916).....Catonsville, Md.
 TALBOTT, MRS. BERTHA C. HALL (1913).Rockville, Md.
 TAYLOR, ARCHIBALD H. (1909).....405 Maryland Trust Building.

- THAYER, W. S., M. D. (1902).....406 Cathedral St.
 THOM, DECOURCY W. (1884).....405 Maryland Trust Building.
 THOM, MRS. LEA (1902).....204 W. Lanvale St.
 THOMAS, MRS. ANNIE HORNER (1914)..2110 Mt. Royal Terrace.
 THOMAS, DOUGLAS H. (1874).....Merchants-Mechanics Bank.
 THOMAS, GEO. C. (1915).....2426 N. Charles St.
 THOMAS, JAMES W. (1894).....Cumberland, Md.
 THOMAS, JOHN B. (1910).....S. E. Cor. Charles and 33rd Sts.
 THOMAS, WILLIAM S. (1915).....211 N. Calvert St.
 THOMAS, MISS ZAIDEE T. (1916)....1302 Eutaw Place.
 THOMPSON, H. OLIVER (1895).....Title Building.
 TILGHMAN, OSWALD (1906).....Easton, Md.
 TILGHMAN, LIEUT. SAMUEL H. (1917)...War Dept., Washington, D. C.
 TODD, W. J., M. D. (1902).....Mt. Washington, Md.
 TOLSON, ALBERT C. (1916).....82-83 Gunther Building.
 TOWERS, ALBERT G. (1917).....7 W. Chase St.
 *TREDWAY, REV. S. B. (1892).....R. F. D. 4, Havre de Grace, Md.
 TRIPPE, ANDREW C. (1877).....347 N. Charles St.
 TRIPPE, RICHARD (1917).....1116 Munsey Building.
 TROUPE, MRS. CALVIN FERRIS (1914)....St. Paul Apartments.
 TROUPE, RINALDO W. B. (1914).....2322 Eutaw Place.
 TRUNDLE, MRS. WILSON BURNS (1914).2414 Madison Ave.
 TUBMAN, ROBERT E. (1915).....117 W. Lombard St.
 *TUCK, PHILEMON H. (1914).....207 N. Calvert St.
 TURNBULL, MRS. CHESTER B. (1916)...Cedarcroft, Hollen & Sycamore Sts.
 TURNBULL, EDWIN L. (1916).....12 E. Lexington St.
 TURNBULL, LAWRENCE (1889).....1530 Park Ave.
 TURNER, HOWARD (1916).....Betterton, Kent Co., Md.
 TURNER, REV. JOSEPH BROWN (1915)...75 Main St., Port Deposit, Md.
 TURNER, J. FRANK (1903).....23 East North Ave.
 TYSON, A. M. (1895).....207 N. Calvert St.
 TYSON, MRS. FLORENCE MACINTYRE } 251 W. Preston St.
 (1907) }
 VICKERY, E. M. (1913).....1223 N. Calvert St.
 VINCENT, JOHN M., PH. D. (1894).....Johns Hopkins University.
 WALKER, MRS. CATHERINE F. (1915)...Chestertown, Md.
 WALLACE, CHAS. C. (1915).....804 Union Trust Bldg.
 WALTERS, HENRY (1880).....Abell Building.
 WARFIELD, EDWIN (1879).....Fidelity Building.
 WARFIELD, EDWIN, JR. (1914).....Fidelity Building.
 WARFIELD, GEORGE (1913).....624 N. Carrollton Ave.
 WARFIELD, JOHN (1916).....15 E. Saratoga St.
 WARFIELD, RIDGELY B., M. D. (1907)....845 Park Ave.
 WARFIELD, S. DAVIES (1902).....40 Continental Trust Building.
 WARNER, C. HOPEWELL (1895).....10 E. Fayette St.
 WATERS, FRANCIS E. (1909).....905 Union Trust Building.
 WATERS, J. SEYMOUR T. (1902).....222 St. Paul St.

- WATERS, MISS MARY E. (1916).....2028 Mt. Royal Terrace.
 WATTS, J. CLINTON (1914).....223 St. Paul St.
 WATTS, SEWELL S. (1916).....Calvert and German Sts.
 WEAVER, JACOB J., JR., M. D. (1889)....Uniontown, Md.
 WELSH, MRS. ROBERT A. (1916).....Millersville, A. A. Co., Md.
 WENTZ, MRS. H. C. (1911).....2217 Oak St.
 WEST, HARRY (1916).....Hanover and Fayette Sts.
 WETTER, JOHN KING (1917).....1631 N. Calvert St.
 WHITE, JULIAN LE ROY (1887).....2400 W. North Ave.
 WHITE, MILES, JR. (1897).....607 Keyser Building.
 WHITELEY, JAMES S. (1901).....510 Keyser Building.
 WHITRIDGE, MORRIS (1890).....10 South St.
 WHITRIDGE, WILLIAM H. (1886).....604 Cathedral St.
 WHITRIDGE, MRS. WM. H. (1911).....604 Cathedral St.
 *WIGHT, JOHN H. (1914).....1415 Fidelity Bldg.
 WILKINSON, A. L., M. D. (1910).....Raspeburg, Balto. Co., Md.
 WILL, ALLEN S. (1910).....2620 N. Calvert St.
 WILLARD, DANIEL (1913).....B. & O. Building.
 WILLIAMS, MISS ELIZABETH CHEW { "Woodcliffe," 39th St., and Univ.
 (1916) { Parkway.
 WILLIAMS, FRED R. (1914).....213 Courtland St.
 WILLIAMS, HENRY W. (1891).....1113 Fidelity Building.
 WILLIAMS, N. WINSLOW (1896).....1113 Fidelity Building.
 WILLIAMS, MISS NELLIE (1917).....The Severn.
 WILLIAMS, RAYMOND S. (1917).....827 Munsey Building.
 WILLIAMS, ROBERT H. (1916).....Gaither Estate Building.
 WILLIAMS, STEVENSON A. (1914).....Belair, Md.
 WILLIAMS, T. J. C. (1907).....Juvenile Court.
 WILLIS, GEORGE R. (1902).....213 Courtland St.
 WILSON, J. APPLETON (1893).....800 Law Building.
 WILSON, MRS. LETITIA PENNELL (1917).3845 Garrison Ave.
 WILSON, MRS. WILLIAM T. (1898).....1129 St. Paul St.
 WINCHESTER, MARSHALL (1902).....Fayette & St. Paul, S. W.
 WINCHESTER, WILLIAMS (1880).....1108 American Building.
 WISE, HENRY A. (1882).....11 W. Mulberry St.
 WOODALL, CASPER G. (1909).....American Office.
 WOODRUFF, CALDWELL, M. D. (1914)....Hyattsville, Md.
 WOODS, HIRAM, M. D. (1911).....842 Park Ave.
 *WOODSIDE, JAMES S. (1913).....1012 St. Paul St.
 WOOTTON, W. H. (1905).....10 South St.
 WORTHINGTON, CLAUDE (1905).....110 Chamber of Commerce.
 WORTHINGTON, ELLICOTT H. (1917)....1531 Bolton St.
 WROTH, LAWRENCE C. (1909).....215 E. Preston St.
 WYATT, J. B. NOEL (1889).....1012 Keyser Building.
 YOUNG, ANDREW J. JR. (1916).....814 Fidelity Building.
 YOUNG, LOUIS F. (1916).....216 N. Calvert St.
 YOUNG, MRS. SARAH J. GORSUCH (1917). 214 Chancery St., Guilford.

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LOUIS H. DIELMAN,

Editor.

and, thus you, my celestial hide, is
 prick'd by the weapon of Sydi-dee.

He spoke, and struck his sounding shield,
 Thinking the noise would make her yield;
 Because it was the same, that Jove
 Us'd for his thunder, from above;
 But she, while he was laying on,
 Hoop'd slyly down, and got a stone;
 Which, thro' a boudry of the Land,
 Was nothing, in her warlike hand;
 And, letting fly, at Mars's head,
 Soon laid him sprawling, tho' not dead;
 And, as extended on the ground,
 He measured seven acres round;
 So you may guess, how hard a whack
 It took, to get him on his back;
 And what a thundering noise, he made,
 When thus, upon his beam enlaid:
 Minerva look'd, with scornful smile,
 And thus blackguarded him, the while.

Hast thou not, lubber, yet found out,
 That I'm your match at boxing bout?
 That, since you have a Nobel been,
 To the great Juno, Heavens Queen,
 'Tis she that sends Minerva down,

MARYLAND

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KILTY'S MANUSCRIPT TRAVESTY OF THE ILIAD

H. L. KOOPMAN.

In the Harris collection of American Poetry in the Brown University Library is a stout manuscript volume in folio, entitled: "A Burlesque Translation of Homer's Illiad, with Notes. The Second Part." Below the title has been written in pencil, "By Chancellor Kilty." The title follows that of the work by Thomas Bridges, first published in 1764, as it was given in the American reprint of 1809. The translator offers his poem as a sequel to the earlier production and thus explains his beginning with the thirteenth book.

As to the physical appearance of the volume, it consists of 558 written pages, besides 55 blanks, mostly of laid paper, measuring $7\frac{1}{4}$ by $12\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Each book is paged separately and is written in the round hand of a copyist. Each is furnished with an argument in verse, and notes, and there are "Directions to the Editor or Printer," three pages, and a "Preface," eleven pages, all written in a different hand of more character, in which also are corrections in the text. Of the translation itself the author says in his preface: "It was hastily written in the short intervals of leisure that could be spared from other avocations."

William Kilty, the son of John and Ellen (Ahearn) Kilty, was born in London in 1757, and educated at the College of

St. Omer in France. He came with his father and family to America prior to the Revolution and studied medicine under Dr. Edward Johnson, of Annapolis. In April, 1778, he proceeded to Wilmington, Del., where he received the appointment of Surgeon's Mate in the 5th Maryland regiment. He continued to discharge the duties of his position until the resignation of Michael Wallace, the surgeon of the regiment, when he was promoted in April, 1780, to fill the vacancy. He continued to act as surgeon until he was made prisoner at the battle of Camden. In the spring of 1781 he returned to Annapolis, where he continued to reside until the close of the war, owing to his failure to obtain an exchange. He then studied law. In 1798 he was authorized by the Maryland Legislature to compile the Statutes of the State and in compliance with this he published the two volumes known as "Kilty's Laws." He settled in Washington in 1800, and in the following year was appointed Chief Judge for the District of Columbia. Returning to Maryland, he was appointed Chancellor in 1806. In 1818, in collaboration with Harris and Watkins, he published a continuation of "Kilty's Laws," in four volumes. He is credited with the authorship of the satirical historic poem, *The Vision of Don Crocker*, Baltimore, c. 1813. He married Elizabeth Middleton, of Calvert county, but died without issue. He was one of the founders of the Order of the Cincinnati. He died at Annapolis, October 10, 1821. According to one estimate "Kilty seems to have been a man of quiet, unassuming life and his greatest interest was, no doubt, in his judicial and professional work, at the same time he was a very patriotic man and took deep interest in the welfare of his state and country." Another account says: "He was not only a man of wide culture, but a scholar and a musician." In view of the numerous amendments to the Maryland constitution there is a peculiar point in the tribute of Niles' Register to Chancellor Kilty: "His death, we believe, has deprived Maryland of the only person that exactly knew what is the constitution of the state!"

Burlesque has two main divisions, the mock-heroic and the heroic mocked or degraded. It may be original, as in the *Battle of the Frogs and Mice* and *Hudibras*, respectively; or imitative, as in parody, which applies a lofty style and treatment to mean characters and situations, and in travesty, which degrades lofty characters and situations by a mean style and treatment. Each is a tribute to the popularity of the work imitated. The very existence of Burlesque implies that the public is familiar with its original, virtually knows it by heart. When everybody was puzzling over Emerson's *Brahma* in the first number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, the country was flooded with parodies of it. In like manner Longfellow's *Hiawatha* was followed by a train of caricatures. Ideal conditions for travesty were furnished by the widespread familiarity with Homer—at least in Pope's translation—that prevailed in England and America in the eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth. Much the same held good for Virgil in the original nearly to the end of the nineteenth century. Those of us who learned our Latin in the seventies still recall the delight with which our classes in the *Æneid* hailed the "Free and Independent Translation" of its first and fourth books that in 1870 emanated from Winsted, Connecticut, a translation that lived up to its title-page, yet avoided indecency. Fortunately we did not have access to Charles Cotton's "English Burlesque" of the same books, first published in 1664-5, a work that not only seizes the obvious opportunities for impropriety in the subject matter of these books, but bespatters every page with obscenity. This is the work that inspired Bridges, just a hundred years later, to produce the travesty of the *Iliad* that our author completed. All these productions doubtless go back in Scarron's "Virgile travesti," 1648-52, which, left incomplete in the middle of the eighth book in 1652, found two rival continuators. Victor Fournel, the editor of Scarron, unkindly characterizes this author's work and its imitations as "cette espèce de démente littéraire." Even so, it may repay our study.

Kilty in his preface takes a modest attitude toward the

highly popular work of his predecessor. He credits it with a smoothened versification than that of *Hudibras* (1662-78) or Cotton's *Virgil*, and with such success as a burlesque "that there is scarcely a line that has any pretensions to seriousness." As for his own work, he admits "that the burlesque is not so well kept up as in the former translation; nor do I think it equal in point of sprightliness or humour." He makes his excuse the fact that while the London travestier had about him a wealth of comic local allusion, "in America our habits are plain, and we have no trades or occupations that are particularly the subjects of ridicule, or even of pleasantry. We are (notwithstanding our more useful attainments) a serious though not a dull people; and, altho we have much collision of parties, there is little collision of wits amongst us: and a writer, here, must draw from books or from himself." This very interesting back-light on the limitation of American literature by American life is followed by an equally interesting explanation why the writer did not carry out the thoroughgoing and unflinching buffoonery of Cotton and Bridges. It is a confession of literary faith that does him great credit as a man and an author, even if its practice has shut him out from the somewhat dubious fame of his predecessors. He says:

"With regard to the burlesque. I am aware that it is considered a recommendation that it should be as *outré* and extravagant as possible, but I see no reason why this criterion should not be dispensed with, and why new rules of composition should not be adopted. Our tragedies are sometimes intermixed with scenes of farce and buffoonery, and our comedies, and even some of our farces, are, of late days, tempered with the dullness of sentiment. There are parts of Homer, more especially towards the conclusion, which do not readily admit of a burlesque translation; such are many of the similes drawn from rural scenes, and the expressions of domestic affliction occasioned by the death of Hector. The same may be said of the admirable description of the Shield of Achilles; and, in these instances, little more has been attempted than a reduction of the lines in

Pope to the measure of eight feet [syllables], so as to correspond with the rest of the translation.

"But, what was at first the effect of necessity, became afterwards a matter of choice; and it was considered that a relief might be afforded by the contrast, in varying the style from serious to gay, while at the same time an interest might be preserved by relating the events in a manner corresponding, in some degree, with the original, so as to retain an appearance of reality in reference to the Grecian and Trojan character. The connected chain of incidents (not the least of the beauties in Homer) is hereby also maintained, which, in a travestie of greater freedom, would not be the case.

"But the burlesque, tho sometimes departed from, is in general adopted. It is however of the serious kind; and, if I may be permitted to use the expression, I have chosen the graver air of Cervantes rather than 'to laugh and shake in the easy chair of Rabelais.'"

Our translator defends his introduction of quotations from modern authors by the enlivenment they lend his pages, and his use of proverbs by the example of Cervantes. Finally he explains if he does not excuse the severest charge that can be brought against his work as a representative of this class of writing:

"Cotton is accused of licentiousness in his travestie of Virgil; and there is the same room for the charge in the burlesque of the first part of Homer.

"There is probably less in the present translation, tho, still, more than the fastidiousness of the age may approve—But the expressions are adapted to the burlesque character and the scenes to be described, and are not introduced as otherwise commendable. Without them, the work would not have been, in any degree, what is promised by the title."

On the whole it is probable that our author disparages his own achievement too much. His pace is brisk, his manner jaunty, and his chief defect, in comparison with his exemplar, is that he shrinks from splashing so vigorously in the mudholes.

My own impression in laying down his book is that he stopped just when he should really have begun. If he had fully learned the lesson which his labors had taught him, and had been free to apply it, he should have begun at the beginning of the *Iliad* and given us a fresh translation, spirited, rapid with the movement of his tetrameter, which Scott's literary instinct had already chosen for his own narrative poems, but entirely free from the flippancy and ribaldry of burlesque. We should then have had an American version of the *Iliad* more simple and rapid than that of Munford (1825) and more vigorous than that of Bryant (1870). That it would have been as literally faithful as these I do not assert, but it would have been more readable.

A question here comes up as to Kilty's qualifications for making a serious translation of Homer. Did he know Greek? This I do not feel qualified to answer, especially in the affirmative. He himself says: "The knowledge of Greek at an advanced age is at present more rare than it formerly was; and we are obliged to rely, in a great measure, on Pope's translation or Cowper's, the others being now forgotten." This reference to his age might warrant us in dating the completion of the work at about 1820. He mentions Chapman's version only to quote Pope's condemnation of its "immeasurable length of verse."

It is therefore possible that ignorance of Greek and advanced age, though it did not equal Cato's when he learned Greek, account for Kilty's failure to give us a version of Homer in sympathy with his real nature. The work that he produced will probably never be printed unless it should be taken up by some Early American Text Society, in which case we feel confident that it will be found as readable as any of its companions, which having died as literature will then enjoy an inglorious resurrection as specimens of language. But, to take leave of our author in the character which he chose to assume, we may repeat the lines which he impudently put into the mouth of the dying Hector:

“The prince of poets shall rehearse
My glorious fate in Grecian verse;
Which will translated be, I hope,
In numbers smooth, and sweet, by Pope;
And, then, immortal I shall be,
In [Kilty]’s Homer travestie.”

CHIEF JUSTICE ROGER B. TANEY—HIS CAREER AT THE FREDERICK BAR

EDWARD S. DELAPLAINE,
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[Delivered before the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, April 8, 1918.]

The early bar of Maryland was distinguished for its brilliant lawyers. As a result of the manner in which original grants of land had been made and the peculiar procedure in the proprietary Land Office there appeared great confusion in titles, out of which arose “the most subtle principles and the most complex forms of pleading in actions of ejectment known to the history of administrative justice.”¹ This litigation was lucrative to lawyers for many years following the Revolutionary War and served to give eminence to the bar. Western Maryland was a land of rapid development and enterprise in the early part of the nineteenth century and was attractive because of its opportunities to young professional men from other parts of the State.

Roger Brooke Taney was admitted to the bar in the spring of 1799. He had been in Annapolis three years, zealously studying law in the office of Judge Jeremiah Townley Chase, who was at that time one of the judges of the General Court. This

¹Tyler’s “Memoir of Roger B. Taney,” pages 121-122.

tribunal was in session at Annapolis twice each year, considering cases arising from all counties on the Western Shore. Up until 1805, when the Circuit Courts in the various counties took the place of the General Court, Annapolis was the best place in Maryland for a young man to commence the study of law. Here young Taney saw an array of legal talent. He heard Luther Martin, who was at the head of the profession in Maryland and whose defense of Aaron Burr in 1807 is one of the *causes célèbres* in the criminal annals of the United States. He heard Philip Barton Key, who went to Congress in 1807 and in whose office his distinguished nephew, Francis Scott Key, studied in Annapolis. He also heard Arthur Shaaff and John Thompson Mason, the leaders of the Frederick bar, and many others who were in the foremost rank in the profession.

"Everything I saw, when this Court was in session," wrote the Chief Justice² at the age of 77, "was calculated to stimulate my ambition. . . . I looked with deep interest upon the array of talent and learning which I saw before me, and hoped (perhaps in candor I ought to say believed) that the day would come that I might occupy the like position in the profession."

Taney commenced his career as a lawyer under disadvantages. A slight exposure during childhood having made him delicate, he struggled against the handicap of a frail constitution. The exertion of two or three weeks at a term of Court would weaken him to such an extent that he would be compelled to take a complete rest to restore his vitality. Taney's early career was also marked by morbid sensitiveness, which closely approached actual cowardice. Throughout his three years in Annapolis, Taney studied diligently, often reading for weeks without interruption twelve hours in the twenty-four. This hard study, the Chief Justice declared nearly sixty years later, was mistaken diligence.

² Taney's Account of his Early Life and Education; Tyler, Chapter I, pages 59 and 65.

“And I am satisfied, also, that it would have been much better for me,” he said,³ “if I had occasionally mixed in the society of ladies, and of gentlemen older than the students. . . . I suffered much and often from this want of composure, and from the consciousness of embarrassment, when I emerged from my seclusion and came into the social and business world.”

Whenever he attempted to address an audience, Taney, during his first few years as a lawyer, would tremble from head to foot. Describing his maiden effort at the bar, in a criminal case in the Mayor's Court of Annapolis, wherein he and a fellow-student were the counsel defending a man indicted for assault and battery, the Chief Justice declared:

“I took no notes, for my hand shook so that I could not have written a word legibly if my life had depended on it; and when I rose to speak, I was obliged to fold my arms over my breast, pressing them firmly against my body; and my knees trembled under me so much that I was obliged to press my limbs against the table before me to keep me steady on my feet.”⁴ Both Mr. Taney and his associate were frightened when, just as they had empanelled the jury, in walked Judge Gabriel Duvall, the Recorder of the Mayor's Court, who occasionally assisted the mayor and aldermen in the trial of cases, and took his seat upon the bench. Judge Duvall was then one of the judges of the General Court, but was appointed by President Madison in 1811 a member of the United States Supreme Court. In such high esteem did he hold Mr. Taney, that notwithstanding his violent opposition to General Jackson and his policies, he resigned in 1835 when he learned that Jackson would probably appoint Taney as his successor. Mr. Taney's first client was acquitted, but the victory, Mr. Taney declared years later, hardly consoled him for the lack of physical firmness and the cowardly timidity he had displayed.

As Lincoln's career “at the bar of Illinois was the school in which he became fitted to serve his country as its chief magis-

³ Tyler, pages 59 and 60.

⁴ Tyler, pages 77 and 78.

trate,"⁵ Taney's career at the bar of Maryland was the school in which he became fitted to serve his country in the Cabinet, and for a period of 28 years as Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. It is interesting to compare the martyred president with the jurist who gave him the oath of office. Chief Justice Taney, on the day after the inauguration of President Buchanan, announced his decision in the celebrated Dred Scott Case, which produced "more rancorous hate than any other judgment of a Court since man first submitted disputes to the arbitrament of law."⁶ In the famous campaign of 1860, four years later, in which the great issue throughout the country was whether Chief Justice Taney's decision was to stand as the true construction of the Federal Constitution, Abraham Lincoln stood at the head of the party which disregarded the decision. He maintained that the policy of the United States Government ought not to be fixed irrevocably by decisions of the Supreme Court in litigation between parties in personal actions. Lincoln determined to carry out his anti-slavery policy in defiance of the Dred Scott decision and when the emancipator became President, Chief Justice Taney had under consideration a case which arose out of that policy. A free negro, indicted in Kentucky on the charge of assisting a slave to escape, fled to Ohio and when the Governor of Ohio refused to deliver the fugitive the State of Kentucky asked for a *mandamus* to compel the Governor to perform his duty. On March 13, 1861, several days after the inauguration of President Lincoln, Chief Justice Taney overruled the motion, holding that there was no power in the General Government to compel the Chief Executive of the State of Ohio to do his duty in the premises.⁷ Two months later President Lincoln and Chief Justice Taney were the principals in a notable case. John Merryman, a Marylander, had been arrested by a military

⁵ John T. Richards, "Abraham Lincoln—His Standing as a Lawyer." *Case and Comment*, July, 1916.

⁶ Tyler, Chapter v, page 360.

⁷ Willis Lego case (*Kentucky vs. Dennison*).

force and Chief Justice Taney on May 26, 1861, issued a writ of *habeas corpus* directing the General at Fort McHenry to produce Merryman before the Chief Justice in Baltimore on the following day. President Lincoln had delegated to a military officer the discretionary power of suspending the writ of *habeas corpus* and the General refused to obey the writ. Taney ordered the proceedings to be laid before the President, but Lincoln ignored the Chief Justice and his opinion.⁸

Thus, while Taney had been admitted to the bar 35 years before Lincoln began to study law, they both became conspicuous as national figures during the terrible years of the Civil War. Lincoln commenced his legal career with a sturdy constitution but without an academic education. Taney lacked physical firmness and a robust constitution, but had the advantage of a splendid education. He had studied Greek and Latin, science and the letters at Dickinson College, in Pennsylvania, where he received the B. A. degree after a course of three years. The following three years he spent in the study of law within the shadow of the State House. Michael Taney had formed "high hopes" for his son's "future eminence," and gladly paid the expenses which Roger incurred in securing his education in Carlisle and Annapolis.

At the age of 22, upon being admitted to the bar, Taney was advised by his father to run for the Maryland House of Delegates. He was elected from his native county, Calvert, in 1799, but in the following year he was defeated for re-election. Discouraged with the prospects of a successful career in Southern Maryland, Roger decided to leave home and settle in Frederick. At that time Frederick was a town of scarcely 3,000 inhabitants, several hundred of whom were negro slaves. But the thrifty German settlers had already become famed for their prosperity. Unlike the Southern Maryland landowners, whose slaves did the work on the tobacco farms, the Western Marylanders were very energetic and established many industries in Frederick Town and throughout the surrounding country. "Frederick

⁸ Ex-parte Merryman.

county," says one early writer, "contains abundance of iron ore, slate, and limestone, a copper mine near Liberty Town, and flintstone for making glass. There are two furnaces and two forges in operation, which manufacture pig, hollow-ware, and bar-iron to a considerable amount. Within a few miles of Frederick Town are two glasshouses which carry on the manufacture of glass with much spirit."⁹ Fertile Frederick county was being rapidly developed and Mr. Taney knew that the abundance of lucrative ejectment and trespass cases in Frederick and adjoining counties made a promising field for a lawyer who had just embarked upon his career. The litigation arising from an extensive business carried on by thriving grist-mills, marble quarries, paper-mills and tanneries, together with the ejectment suits, was, therefore, one powerful inducement for him to locate in Frederick. Indeed, as a business centre, Frederick compared favorably with Baltimore. Then, too, Mr. Taney believed there was an opening for him in Frederick on account of the fact that there were many young practitioners at the Frederick bar while many of the eminent lawyers were gradually retiring. His friend, Francis Scott Key, who, like many other young Marylanders, had read law in Annapolis during the latter part of the eighteenth century, had decided to settle in Frederick county. Key's sister, Miss Anne Phebe Charlton Key, whom Taney had met in Annapolis, was probably also an inducement to come to Frederick, for less than five years later, on January 7, 1806, they were married.

Mr. Taney arrived in Frederick in the month of March, 1801. He was the only young lawyer to establish himself in Frederick during that year. During his first year there he received encouragement from Thomas Johnson, a native of Calvert county, who had served as Maryland's first Governor and who had settled on an estate about a mile from Frederick Town. He also received assistance from Arthur Shaaff, a bachelor, who

⁹ Written in 1807. "This was undoubtedly the first glass manufactory established in America." J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, Volume I, page 361.

enjoyed young Taney's company at his beautiful country estate, "Arcadia," some miles from Frederick.

In 1801 Taney and Francis Scott Key were admitted to the bar of Montgomery County. Young Key soon moved to Georgetown and at an early age won success as a lawyer before the Supreme Court of the United States. While the author of *The Star-Spangled Banner* commenced his career before the Federal Courts in early life, the future Chief Justice confined his practice to the State courts of Maryland until his departure from Frederick in 1823, when in the 47th year of his age. Mr. Taney's name appears frequently as counsel on the Circuit and District Court dockets from 1823 to 1826, preserved in the garret of the Federal Post Office Building in Baltimore. His name does not appear on the Admission List of the District Court, but his name is signed in the List Book of Attorneys of the Circuit Court (which was abolished in 1912) at the May Term of 1823. Mr. Taney's first cases in the Supreme Court of the United States arose from the Circuit Court for Maryland. The first two cases were of great importance, both being decided in the February Term of 1826, the first by Chief Justice Marshall, whose seat Mr. Taney was destined to fill 10 years later. In the Circuit Court, Taney and four other lawyers represented James W. McCulloh and Solomon Etting in *assumpsit* suits brought by the Bank of the United States, the questions of fraud and concealment in contracts being involved. The bank being successful, Mr. Taney took an appeal by writ of error.¹⁰ Before the Supreme Court Mr. Taney was assisted by Daniel Webster, while William Wirt, then Attorney-General, and Mr. Emmett appeared for the United States Bank. Although the judgment of the Circuit Court was affirmed, Chief Justice Marshall, in delivering the opinion of the Court, declared: "In the very elaborate arguments which have been made at the bar, several cases have been cited which have been atten-

¹⁰ Solomon Etting, Plaintiff in Error *vs.* The President, Directors and Company of the Bank of the United States, Defendants in Error. 11 Wheaton, 59.

tively considered. No attempt will be made to analyze them, or to decide on their application to the case before us, because the judges are divided respecting it. Consequently, the principles of law which have been argued cannot be settled; but the judgment is affirmed, the court being divided in opinion upon it." Mr. Taney, in his second case before the Supreme Court, represented Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the wealthiest citizen in Maryland, if not in America, who was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and a distinguished member of the Maryland Senate when Taney was a member of the House of Delegates in his twenty-third year. For many years Mr. Taney acted as Carroll's legal adviser. When suit was brought against Carroll in the United States Circuit Court in an action of debt to recover certain quit-rents alleged to be due to the plaintiff's intestate, Mr. Taney, then approaching the fiftieth year of his age and in the very prime of his professional career, was retained to defend him. Under the Charter of Maryland, the proprietary was not only the ruler but also the exclusive landlord of the province, and quit-rents were paid from year to year as an acknowledgment of the tenancy. The defendant had inherited 10,000 acres of land which had been granted to his father by Charles, Baron of Baltimore, the son and heir of Cæcilius Calvert. Back in 1780 an agreement, made under the direction of the High Court of Chancery and later confirmed by Parliament, assigned away all the right, title and interest of Charles Lord Baltimore, his heirs and assigns, to the province (now the State of Maryland) and its quit-rents. Mr. Taney contended that the agreement was a bar to the plaintiff's right of action and the jury found a special verdict, upon which the Circuit Court entered a judgment *pro forma* for Carroll and the important case was brought, by writ of error, to the Supreme Court for a final decision.¹¹ Mr. Taney was assisted by Mr. Wirt, their opponents being Mr.

¹¹ Henry Cassell, administrator of Louisa Browning, *vs.* Charles Carroll of Carrollton, 11 Wheaton, 135.

Raymond and Mr. Webster. Justice Gabriel Duvall, being a landholder in Maryland, did not sit in the case. The decision of the Circuit Court was affirmed, Justice Story declaring in his opinion:

“The cause has been argued with great ability and care. Many important and difficult points have been discussed at the bar, upon which, if we were called to pronounce a decision, we should wish for more time and consideration to mature our judgment. But, as we have all come to a conclusion upon one point, which finally disposes of the whole cause, it is deemed proper at once to put the parties in possession of our opinion, without attempting to analyze the learning which is involved in others of more complexity, and would require more extensive researches.”

The Reporter says: “It has not been thought proper to report the arguments of counsel, at large, involving a great variety of feudal and constitutional learning which the court did not think it necessary to examine, as the cause was determined upon the single point of the effect of the agreement made in 1780 and confirmed by Act of Parliament in 1781.” Along with the case, however, is printed a note which runs through 11 pages of the U. S. Supreme Court Reporter. By way of preface, the Reporter says:

“The editor has supposed that it would gratify the curiosity of the learned reader to be presented with the following note (with which the editor has been favored by his friend Mr. Taney) of an argument of the Court of King’s Bench in 1775 upon a case sent from the Court of Chancery, in the suit brought by Sir Robert Eden et al. *vs.* Henry Harford, to recover possession of the province of Maryland and its revenues, in which the learning respecting the nature of the dominion and proprietary interest of Lord Baltimore in the province, was very elaborately discussed.”¹²

¹² Henry Wheaton, reporter, 11 Wheaton, 151-191.

Through the assiduous study of law in Annapolis and actual practice for 22 years in Frederick, Mr. Taney had acquired a profound knowledge of the law. He had studied law in the old way, commencing with the complex law of estates and studying the derivative branches one by one in their logical order. Digests and codes had not appeared. Consequently, the study of law and the establishment of a practice were attended with difficulties in Taney's day. Particularly in ejectment and trespass, the science of pleading was complex. Young Taney, who had read law in a judge's office but had received no training with an active practitioner, had acquired no practical experience in drawing up pleadings. During his early years at Frederick, Mr. Taney never undertook to draw up the simplest declaration or plea without a precedent. The old *Entries*, Brooke and Coke, Levinz and Rastall, were still used by the lawyers. In examining the law of special pleading, Mr. Taney resorted to Bacon's or Viner's *Abridgment* and Comyn's *Digest*, and in his search for precedents sometimes went back to Lilly's *Entries* and *Doctrina Placitandi*. At the zenith of his career as Chief Justice of the United States, he declared that his failure to receive practical knowledge and experience while preparing for the bar proved to be a serious handicap to him, for, while he had in Judge Chase's office an abundance of time for uninterrupted study, he obtained no practical instruction in the forms and manner of pleading and, on the whole, his study with Judge Chase was a distinct disadvantage. In this reminiscence, Chief Justice Taney, after a lapse of fifty years, might have had in mind a case in which he appeared as counsel for defendant in a case shortly after his admission to the bar. The opposing counsel was his friend, Francis Scott Key. A suit for slander had been filed by Mr. Key in the Montgomery County Court and Mr. Taney endeavored to escape the trouble of drawing up the pleas in the case. Under an agreement with Mr. Key that the plaintiff would consent to waive his rights in the matter of formal pleading, Mr. Taney disregarded the usual practice and merely filed a plea of justification short.

The issue was joined and the case came up for trial in Rockville before a jury. There being a verdict for the defendant, Mr. Key appealed a ruling of the Court on one of the prayers. The young lawyers, Mr. Key for the plaintiff in error and Mr. Taney for the defendant in error, argued the exception before four members of the Court of Appeals of Maryland.¹³ The decision was rendered by Chase, *C. J.*, Mr. Taney's preceptor. Chief Judge Chase laconically declared in rendering the decision:

"The plea of justification is not sufficiently pleaded, being put in short, and upon that ground the Court reverse the judgment."

Despite his many difficulties, Mr. Taney immediately gained public recognition and soon acquired an enormous practice. Upon taking up his residence in Frederick, he was asked by Mr. Shaaff, who still practiced in Frederick, to take part in one of his cases, in order that he would have an opportunity of appearing before the public. From the dockets of the Frederick County Court and the Reports of the Court of Appeals it was apparent that Mr. Shaaff and his young friend Taney were as frequently and closely associated professionally as they were socially. John Thomson Mason and Mr. Shaaff, before Mr. Taney's arrival, had been at the head of the legal profession in Frederick for many years; but while Mr. Mason had recently retired from active practice and settled on his estate in Washington County, Mr. Shaaff divided his time between Annapolis and Frederick.

Mr. Taney's practice literally grew by leaps and bounds. During his first year at Frederick his name began to appear as counsel on the dockets. At the February Term of 1802 of the Frederick County Court he appeared in five or six suits, at the following term in August in about two dozen, and in February, 1803, in between 30 and 40 cases. From that time on he was for two decades the leading lawyer of Western Maryland, appearing in a vast majority of the cases in the Frederick

¹³ *Orme vs. Lodge*, 3 H. & J., 83.

County Court. His practice, however, was not confined to the Frederick bar. While he worked like a Trojan to care for his practice at home, he frequently journeyed over South Mountain to Hagerstown to participate in important litigation. That he commanded immediate attention and respect is evidenced by the fact that he was retained as early as 1801 to represent the defendant in two law suits at Hagerstown in which the amount involved in each case exceeded £277 Maryland currency (one pound being equivalent to \$2.66 $\frac{2}{3}$). After continuance of the suits were brought up for trial at the August Term of 1803. While he lost these cases, Mr. Taney appeared as counsel in two other suits at the same term and secured a victory in both suits. From 1803 till his departure for Baltimore in 1823, Mr. Taney's clientele increased rapidly at Hagerstown, as it did on a much larger scale at Frederick Town. According to the dockets of the Washington County Court, preserved in the office of the Clerk of the Court at Hagerstown, he appeared at the Court House at every term of Court in a dozen or more causes of action.

Before reaching the age of 30, Mr. Taney appeared as counsel in a number of cases before the Maryland Court of Appeals. His first appearance in the appellate court might have been entirely due, as was his first appearance in the Frederick County Court room, to Mr. Shaaff, for at the October Term of 1805 he assisted Mr. Shaaff and Mr. Harper in the argument of an important action of ejectment involving the rights of the proprietary as derived from the King, and consequently, the rights of the State of Maryland. The proceedings had been instituted at Annapolis in the General Court of Maryland in 1801 by Luther Martin, Attorney-General of Maryland since the Revolutionary War, Mr. Dorsey and Philip Barton Key. The case was not decided at this term, but was re-argued during the June Term of 1806. At this term, John Thompson Mason, appointed Attorney-General in July, 1806, and John Johnson, appointed in October following, assisted Mr. Martin and Mr. Key. The array of eminent counsel which faced Mr. Shaaff

and his young friend Taney was formidable. Shaaff and Taney assailed with all their might the decision of the General Court, but it was finally affirmed.¹⁴

At the 1806 term of the Court of Appeals, Mr. Taney appeared in five other cases, in one of which he again assisted Mr. Shaaff. The case arose from the Court of Chancery, being a bill for re-conveyance filed by John Johnson, Thomas Buchanan and Mr. Martin in 1801. The judgment had been given to the complainant in the Court of Chancery. In the Court of Appeals, Mr. Ridgely and Philip Barton Key, in addition to Mr. Shaaff and Mr. Taney, argued the case for the appellant, but the decision was affirmed.¹⁵

In his four other appearances at the 1806 Term, Mr. Taney opposed the eminent advocate, Shaaff, but the cases were not of great importance. In two of them he was aided by his friend, Francis Scott Key. The first was an action for dower, instituted by Mr. Shaaff and Mr. Brooke for a widow who claimed one-third interest in fifty acres of land in Frederick County. At Frederick, the defendant, represented by Taney and Key, was awarded the judgment, but it was reversed by the Court of Appeals.¹⁶ The next was an appeal from a decree of the Orphans' Court of Frederick County, admitting to record a paper which was designed to take effect as a will upon the happening of a certain contingency.¹⁷ Mr. Taney cited to the Court of Appeals authorities to prove that such a paper is void if the contingency does not happen; Mr. Shaaff conceded that the Orphans' Court erred in admitting the paper to probate, but denied that the appellant had any right to contest the probate or to appeal from the Orphans' Court's decree. Judge Chase disregarded Mr. Shaaff's contention and the decree was reversed. Taney's next appearance was in an action of *assumpsit* instituted by him in the Frederick County Court.

¹⁴ Howard *vs.* Moale, 2 H. & J., page 218.

¹⁵ Brogden *vs.* Walker, 2 H. & J., page 248.

¹⁶ Keefer *vs.* Young, 2 H. & J., page 45.

¹⁷ Wagner *vs.* McDonald, 2 H. & J., page 295.

The *narr.*, which he filed, sought to recover against an estate for one year's services rendered the defendant's intestate by the plaintiff as an overseer in 1791. At the trial in Frederick, Mr. Taney proved by a witness the value of the services of his client; but in cross-examination of the witness, Mr. Shaaff gave in evidence a declaration of the plaintiff that he was to receive a share of the crop raised on the land for his services in that year and that he had received his share of the corn crop. Mr. Shaaff did not offer any other evidence, but merely prayed the Court to direct the jury that, if they found a special agreement covering the plaintiff's services in 1791, the plaintiff was not entitled to recover on the *narr.* filed in the case. When the Court so directed the jury, Mr. Taney excepted; and the verdict and judgment being against him, he appealed.¹⁸ Before the Court of Appeals, Mr. Shaaff cited the parallel case of *Hannan vs. Lee*, 1 H. & J. 131, in which he had defeated Luther Martin on the same legal point several years before, and the Court affirmed the decision without writing an opinion. Mr. Taney cited the case of *Payne et al. vs. Bacomb*, 2 Doug. 651, and he must have made a valiant effort to reverse the judgment, for at the end of the report the Reporter takes occasion to remark as follows:

"The Court said, that in the case of *Payne et al. vs. Bacomb*, there was a count on a special agreement, and other counts, and as no agreement was proved, the plaintiff was permitted to recover on the other counts."

In his final appeal during the 1806 Term, Mr. Taney was more successful. Assisted by Mr. Key, he had represented defendant in an action of slander. The plaintiff, represented by Mr. Shaaff, had received a verdict of £22, whereupon Taney and Key took an appeal. They succeeded in having the judgment of the Frederick County Court reversed.¹⁹ Chief Judge Jeremiah Townley Chase handed down the opinion in this case, as well as in many of Taney's subsequent cases.

¹⁸ *Cushman vs. Sim's Adm'r.*, 2 H. & J., page 301.

¹⁹ *Sheely vs. Biggs*, 2 H. & J., page 311.

Mr. Shaaff's professional relationship with Taney did not conclude with the 1806 Term. For years they appeared at the same time before the appellate court, sometimes together and sometimes as opposing counsel. But, from this time on, Taney is no longer Mr. Shaaff's apprentice. He is rapidly beginning to loom up as almost the peer of the eminent Maryland lawyers of long experience. His power is already beginning to be felt before the courts and juries, his authorities are scrutinized by the judges and cited by the Court of Appeals reporters, his standing as a leading lawyer of the State has been quickly attained. He now appears as counsel in litigation arising in Anne Arundel, Prince George's, Baltimore, Harford and other counties, though chiefly in Washington and Frederick counties.

During his residence of 22 years at Frederick, Mr. Taney gave little of his time to politics, with the exception of the period from 1816 to 1821, when he represented Frederick County in the Maryland Senate. His first political venture in Frederick County was in 1803 in his campaign for election to the House of Delegates. The only officials at that day elected by direct vote of the people were the Sheriff and members of the House of Delegates, the State Senator being chosen by electors. The election of 1803 was the first in the State of Maryland at which ballots were used; it was also the first held in the State following the abolition of the property qualification for suffrage. Mr. Taney was a Federalist, but when he was chosen a member of the House of Delegates for Calvert County at a four-day *viva voce* election, nothing was said as to whether he or any other candidate was a Federalist or Republican. The legislative campaign of 1803 was a campaign of barbecues. It was very bitter. Early in September the first barbecue was held by the Republicans at Middletown, where the table, laden with meat, bread and whisky, was set for 600 people. Here, as well as at the barbecue in Westminster District, two of the Federal candidates, described as Mr. Taney and "Little Sancho," were permitted to speak. Fully 1,000 people attended

the Westminster barbecue, and the crowd, which included a hundred women, sat about a huge table in the form of a half-moon. The *Republican Advocate* declared that Mr. Taney, who had been fairly laughed out of Calvert County for being an aristocrat, ranted and was incoherent. "Mr. Taney," it said, "owes it to the people of this County to give some account of himself before he goes about spouting—before he accuses others, let him tell the people who he is. What do the people of Frederick County know of Roger B. Taney? Why does he not tell the people how Dr. Kent saved him? Precious representatives, indeed, would the people have in such men as Roger B. Taney and his little man Sancho." The Federalists also held their barbecues, and into Frederick from one of them marched Mr. Taney at the head of a cavalcade. The procession headed by Taney marched into town, according to the Jeffersonian newspaper, "in the most riotous manner and proceeded to the Court House, where through intoxication or design they uttered a thousand curses against the Republicans and set upon and violently beat a respectable young German." The campaign degenerated into a class issue, a play to prejudice between the "aristocrats" and the "plain people." The feeling rose to white heat. Mr. Taney came in for his share of the abuse. So did Charles Carroll of Carrollton. So did Judge Richard Potts, of the Court of Appeals, who, like Carroll, had served in the United States Senate.

"Every nerve is in motion, every ligament is stretched by the Federal leaders," said the *Advocate*, "to carry the election. Even old Charles Carroll, that hoary headed aristocrat, has gone down to the Manor no doubt with a view to influence the tenants on the place. Shall the people be dictated to by this lordly nabob because he has more pelf than some others? Has he more virtue, more honor, more honesty than a good industrious farmer. Dares he with his British monarchical and aristocratic policies, come into Frederick County to cajole, to swindle the people out of their rights? Is he, old in iniquity as he

is, to be the chief director of the people on the Manor? Citizens of Frederick County! Set Charles Carroll at defiance."

Mr. Taney was defeated. So were his three running mates, among them being John Hanson Thomas, one of the most prominent members of the bar, who died in 1815 while campaigning for the United States Senate. The County was Republican. Then, too, the method of voting by ballot was accepted with approval while the abolition of the property qualification for suffrage, which added about 600 voters in the county, was an advantage to the Republicans, who carried the county by majorities ranging from 500 upward. The total vote cast was 4,841, Taney polling 2,120.

Mr. Taney suffered defeat at two succeeding elections, first in 1808 as a candidate for Presidential Elector and several years later as a candidate for Congress. Just before the close of 1807 Congress had passed the Embargo Act, as a result of which the price of wheat declined fifty cents a bushel, and the Federalists contended that Frederick County's loss therefrom on wheat alone was \$150,000. The State Legislature had passed an act requiring every militiaman to provide himself with a gun; and as this law placed upon Frederick County, where there were about 3,500 militiamen, an additional burden of about \$35,000, the Federalists were provided with good campaign material. The Federal candidates for the House of Delegates, among them being John Hanson Thomas, were elected, but David Lynn, of Allegany, and Taney, the electoral candidates for Allegany, Washington and Frederick counties, were unable to overcome the Republican majorities. In Frederick County, they reduced the majority to 130, Dr. John Tyler, of Frederick, and Nathaniel Rochester, of Hagerstown, who favored Madison for the presidency, carrying the county by a vote of 2,471 to 2,341.

When the Republicans, with Madison in the White House, proposed war against Great Britain for persisting in her policy of search and impressment, the Federalists opposed a declara-

tion of war largely by virtue of party feeling, but also on account of a sectional interest in commerce, which would, of course, be crippled by hostilities. But, as soon as war was declared, in June, 1812, Mr. Taney gave his whole-hearted support to the United States Government. Mr. Taney and those Federalists in Frederick who followed his lead in supporting the Government were nicknamed *Coodies* by the other wing of the party; Mr. Taney, because of his influence, was called *King Coody*. The pacifist faction was led by John Hanson Thomas. The feeling aroused over the division of the Federalist party was exceedingly bitter. Taney and Thomas became enemies and they never forgave each other until Thomas was on his death-bed. While the rupture of the party was widest, Mr. Taney received the nomination for Congress. Notwithstanding the strength of the Republican party and the division in his own party, he was defeated by a majority of only 300 votes in the entire Congressional District. Mr. Taney preferred the law to politics, and withdrew as much as he could from political activities. Throughout his busy career at the bar, however, he took a deep interest in questions of public interest, holding decided opinions on all subjects. At Frederick his popularity increased from year to year and his character was always beyond reproach. After the War of 1812, the opposing wing of the Federalist party returned to him with singular devotion and in 1816 he was chosen by the Electoral College as the State Senator from Frederick County. Mr. Taney was himself one of the electors from Frederick County, but the College was privileged to select Senators from its own number. The Maryland Senate at that time consisted of only 15 members and the work performed by the early legislators was of distinct value to the State. Mr. Taney preferred his professional life, but served out his entire term of five years at a personal sacrifice but for the benefit of the State. He had only one ambition along political lines, and that was to be appointed Attorney-General of Maryland. His wish was gratified four years after leaving Frederick, for in 1827 Governor Kent tendered him the appointment.

During his first 15 years at Frederick, Mr. Taney held no

office of any kind. Indeed, he devoted very little time either to politics or business, and practically no time to pleasure, except at the end of arduous court terms in the form of recreation in the country to recover his exhausted energy. In 1818, while in the Senate, a charter was granted by the Legislature to the Frederick County Bank and Taney was named as one of the members of the first Board of Directors; he served some years as director and scarcely ever missed a meeting of the Board. Also, he was for twenty years a member of the Board of Visitors of the Frederick Academy and for a long time the president of the Board. Mr. Taney also took a deep interest in his church. In November, 1803, the Legislature authorized him and six other men to devise a lottery to raise \$3,600 with which to complete the Catholic Church in Frederick. The seven men bonded in the following February,²⁰ proposed the lottery scheme, delivered the prizes to the "fortunate adventurers" within six months and applied the proceeds to the completion of the church within a period of two years. With such exceptions, however, Mr. Taney devoted all his time to his profession.

He was ready and willing at all times to accept any case, weak or strong, popular or unpopular, trivial or important. He fought hard, even though his cause appeared to be a losing one. Among the important cases in which he participated was the case of *Tilghman vs. Steuart*, wherein he assisted Mr. Martin and Mr. Shaaff in an appeal from the decree of the Orphans' Court of Anne Arundel County, admitting to probate a paper which had not been completed by the deceased. The question in the case was whether the deceased possessed the *animus testandi* at the time the paper was written. Vast amounts of property were involved and as the law concerning the essentials of a will necessary to pass personal property had not been settled by the courts the case was further important because of the principles of law to be established in Maryland by the decision. Harper, Steuart and that great advocate,

²⁰ Land Record, Liber W. R. 25, Folio 347.

William Pinkney, the peer of American lawyers, endeavored to sustain the will. The case was argued at two separate terms of the Appellate Court ²¹ and the presiding judges finally delivered their opinions *seriatim*. The decree of the Orphans' Court was reversed by a 3-to-2 decision. The opinions of all the judges are printed in the Court of Appeals Reports with the exception of the opinion of Chief Judge Jeremiah Townley Chase, who dissented, and whose opinion the court reporters were unable to secure.

Mr. Taney's clear exposition of the law assisted the Court of Appeals upon many other occasions in reaching the fundamentals of the law, in applying the basic principles and adjudicated cases to the case at bar and in arriving at their final decision. At about the time he assisted Martin and Shaaff in the case of *Tilghman vs. Steuart*, Mr. Taney presented an able argument in a case arising in Prince George's County,²² which established an important principle in the law of negotiable instruments. The facts in the case were that a son had given a note to his father, who indorsed the paper to a third person, that the father was aware no demand for payment had been made on his son and no due notice of non-payment had been given, and yet the father declared his intention of paying his son's debts and the promissory note in question. Mr. Taney argued that if the father's promise had been made in ignorance of the *facts*, the father, as the endorser of the note, could not have been bound; but that the legal maxim, *ignorantia legis non excusat*, is an established principle in our law equally applicable to civil and criminal cases and that a different principle would introduce great uncertainty in the law. The Court of Appeals so held, by a decision of 2 to 1. The authorities cited by Mr. Taney—*Bilbie vs. Lumley*, 2 East 471; *Stevens vs. Lynch*, 12 East 37—are cited and approved by the Court. In his dissenting opinion, Chief Judge Chase held that endorser's liability rests upon proof of demand for payment against the maker

²¹ *Tilghman et al. vs. Steuart et al.*, 4 H. & J., page 118.

²² *Beck vs. Thompson and Maris*, 4 H. & J., page 427.

and due notice of non-payment to the endorser; and that endorser, not being legally liable to pay when the promise was made, made a promise which was not supported by a consideration and, therefore, *nudum pactum*.

In one of his many appeals from the Washington County Court, Mr. Taney appeared against Samuel Ringgold, who was in after years one of Mr. Taney's clients. Ringgold had made a promissory note in 1801 for \$2,500 and the note was subsequently endorsed. Action of *assumpsit* was instituted by the endorsee and a verdict at Hagerstown was given in favor of the plaintiff. Ringgold's counsel moved arrest of judgment on the ground that the note did not contain the words *or order* or *to bearer* and was, therefore, not a negotiable instrument, and hence the endorsee could not sue in his own name. The judgment was arrested by the Washington County Court and Mr. Taney and Mr. Dorsey took an appeal.²³ They contended that under the *Statute of 3 and 4 Anne*, a note need not contain the words *or order* or *to bearer* in order that the endorsee might bring suit in his own name; but Chief Judge Chase, in delivering the opinion of the Court in which the other presiding judges concurred, declared that notes could not be brought within the Statute unless they contain those words. The Court carefully considered the adjudicated cases relied upon by Mr. Taney, but demonstrated in the opinion why they were not in point. Taking an interest in a great volume of such cases, Taney became a specialist in matters of commercial law and banking touching all the various phases of business.

Mr. Taney was pre-eminently a trial lawyer. Having become more proficient each year in the difficult art of pleading, being recognized throughout the State as an apt pupil of Martin and Shaaff in actions of ejectment and trespass, and gradually becoming more proficient as an advocate in all kinds of civil actions, he did not deal in property sales or business transactions. He appeared before the Court of Appeals quite frequently in litigation arising in Courts of Chancery, but his specialty

²³ *Noland vs. Ringgold*, 3 H. & J., page 176.

was his work in civil and criminal cases in the Court room before the Court and jury.

It is not until 1813 that his name appears among the Land Records of Frederick County, and at that time his name is used in connection with the names of Mr. Shaaff and Francis Scott Key as trustees under the will of Gen. James Lingan, of Montgomery County.²⁴ The only other land deals with which his name is connected are the purchase and sale of his Bentz Street property on the western edge of Frederick and a lot on Church Street. He bought the former for \$3,200 and sold it for \$1,500 less than eight years later. The latter he bought for \$800 and after paying a \$500 mortgage on the property and the interest which had accrued, he sold it for the same price at which he bought it.

Although he was married in 1806 and although it is recorded that his mother took refuge during the War of 1812 "under her son's roof" ²⁵ and remained with him until her death in 1814, there is no record that Taney owned a home of his own until 1815. In June of that year, three lots of a tract known as "Long Acre," adjoining Frederick Town, now located on South Bentz Street, was deeded to him for \$3,200.²⁵ The little house in which Mr. Taney and his family lived, known as the "Taney summer home," and the outbuildings running back from it are still standing.

About five years after his mother died, Mr. Taney received word that his aged father had stabbed and killed his neighbor, John Magruder, at the Taney homestead in Calvert County. The old gentleman, later indicted for manslaughter, fled into Virginia and lived in obscurity and seclusion in Loudoun County until a few years later he was killed by a fall from his horse. Along with him across the Potomac had gone two of his faithful slaves, who brought his body home for burial. It was buried in a vault near the house and a brother of

²⁴ Liber W. R. 45, Folio 351.

²⁵ Tyler, page 143.

²⁶ Liber J. S. 5, Folio 350.

Magruder, according to the accepted tradition, desiring to make sure that the burial was not sham, opened the coffin and recognizing the corpse of Michael Taney, battered his face with a stone.

While the future Chief Justice led an extremely busy life and was engaged in a mass of important litigation during his life in Frederick, he made no attempt to lay up treasures upon earth in the form of real property or money. He was kind and generous to all classes of men, and while he owned slaves he manumitted them during his residence at Frederick and some of the old slaves he supported by monthly allowances of silver until they died. On November 29, 1817, a free negro bound himself as a slave to Mr. Taney and Frederick A. Schley, who was reading law in Mr. Taney's office, upon the consideration that they would shelter and feed him, with the provision that if the negro paid to Woodward Evitt the \$350 note signed by the negro as principal and by Taney and Schley as securities the indenture would be void.²⁷ On the same day, Mr. Evitt sold to them for \$350 a female slave,²⁸ wife of the indentured negro, but Taney and Schley later manumitted her.²⁹ Even before marriage, Mr. Taney owned slaves, being assessed in 1805, according to the yellow-worn Tax Records in the office of the County Commissioners in the Court House at Frederick, for \$160 on a female slave and two other slaves under the age of fourteen years. In 1818, Mr. Taney set seven of his negroes free,³⁰ and subsequently, together with Octavius Taney, liberated two slaves which had been owned by his father,³¹ and still later manumitted another in 1821.³² His slaves were showered with kindness. He was charitable to the humble and low, and courteous to everybody. To the struggling members of the bar he was especially kind. Like Mr. Schley, James Dixon, whom Mr.

²⁷ Liber J. S. 5, Folio 850.

²⁸ Liber J. S. 5, Folio 851.

²⁹ Liber J. S. 21, Folio 178.

³⁰ Liber J. S. 6, Folios 659 to 661.

³¹ Liber J. S. 10, Folio 617.

³² Liber J. S. 12, Folio 185.

Taney when Attorney-General appointed prosecuting attorney for Frederick County, studied law under Mr. Taney and he frequently declared in future years that he owed his success to the kindness he received in Mr. Taney's law office in Frederick. Judge Richard H. Marshall was another lawyer who was heavily indebted to Mr. Taney for his success. He read law under Mr. Taney and was advised by him to locate in Frederick for the practice of his profession.

But, while kind and generous, Mr. Taney was a man of firm conviction, resolute and unswerving in the line of duty which he believed to be right. In litigation he did not hesitate to give his client, whoever he might be, the full privileges and protection of the law, whether in civil or criminal cases. While he believed in his heart that slavery was wrong in principle, and although he had already given freedom to a number of his own slaves, he did not hesitate to appear as counsel against the great Maryland lawyer, Reverdy Johnson, and his associate, Mr. Raymond, in an action instituted in the Harford County Court to oppose the liberty of ten negro slaves, who were seeking to gain their freedom.³³ A deed of manumission had actually been executed in compliance with the provisions of a will and the jury in Harford County had handed down a decision granting the negroes their emancipation. Mr. Taney did not hesitate to give his full attention to the case and, with the judgment of the lower court against him, he filed an appeal. Unassisted, he argued it before the Court of Appeals, but the decision of the lower court was affirmed.

Taney's first criminal case before the Court of Appeals was his defense of a negro, Thomas Burk, charged with criminally assauling a little girl, Catherine Maria Brawner, who was under twelve years of age. The Grand Jury of Frederick County found an indictment in February, 1809, but the case was removed to Hagerstown, where the trial was one of the most notable in the annals of the Washington County Court. The negro was found guilty and was sentenced by Judge

³³ Hughes vs. Negro Milly et al., 5 H. & J., page 253.

John Buchanan to be hung. It has been said that of the 175 cases in the Illinois Reports with which Abraham Lincoln was connected there is not to be found a single criminal case and that this fact is one of the reasons for the belief that Lincoln refused to undertake to defend a person whom he considered guilty of the crime charged against him; Taney, on the contrary, endeavored to give every client the full protection the law afforded. Mr. Taney and his associates in the Burk case, Mr. Lawrence, of Hagerstown, and Mr. Martin, moved the Court in arrest of judgment on the following grounds: First, that when nine jurors had been sworn and the original panel was exhausted by peremptory challenges the Court could not legally order the sheriff to summon only three talesmen and later, after eleven jurymen were sworn, to summon only one talesman; secondly, that after the accused had pleaded generally to the indictment, the jury could not be legally charged upon one of the counts to the exclusion of the other; and, thirdly, that the indictment was defective because it contained both a count for felony and a count for misdemeanor. Judge Buchanan considered each objection to the validity of the proceedings but refused to arrest the judgment, declaring that the great strictness observed in criminal proceedings grows out of the benevolent principle that every prisoner should have a fair and impartial trial. The negro had been given every advantage which he could have secured if the indictment had contained only the one count, *i. e.*, felony, upon which he was tried and found guilty, and to arrest the judgment, said the Court, would be nothing short of perversion of justice. However, the indictment and proceedings were brought before the Court of Appeals by writ of error.³⁴ Attorney-General John Johnson appeared for the State. Martin, Taney and Lawrence made a profound study of the common law regarding the points at issue and nearly 100 of their authorities are cited in the Reporter. One citation is that to Burr's trial on the point of

³⁴ Burk *vs.* State, 2 H. & J., page 365.

the practice as to *tales de circumstantibus*.³⁵ The negro escaped from the Washington County jail on July 4, 1809.³⁶

Several years later Taney made a deeper study of the Burr trial, when he was, along with John Hanson Thomas, retained to defend Gen. James Wilkinson, accused of being an accomplice of Burr. After his term as Vice-President, Burr plotted to wrest Mexico from the Spaniards and then detach the Southern and Western States from the Union; but Wilkinson, who had been entrusted with the plans, turned against the arch-conspirator and planned to crush the expedition at New Orleans. But before General Wilkinson could confer with President Jefferson, the latter had received the news and at once issued a proclamation asking for the capture of Burr and all his followers. In the notable trial at Richmond before Chief Justice Marshall, in which William Wirt as prosecutor and Martin for the defense won national reputation, Burr was found "not guilty for want of sufficient proof," and he fled from the United States under an assumed name. Like Burr, General Wilkinson was a national figure. He was a member of an honorable English family and, like Taney, was a native of Calvert County, but was attracted to Frederick County, settling to practice medicine along the Potomac between Point of Rocks and the mouth of the Monocacy River. He received from General Washington his commission as Captain, was promoted to Colonel, became conspicuous at the battle of Saratoga, took part in the negotiations which ended in the surrender of Burgoyne, was selected by General Gates to carry to the Congress the official dispatches announcing the surrender, and in recognition of his valuable services received from the Congress a vote of thanks and the brevet rank of Brigadier-General. Considered as an accomplice of Aaron Burr, the Commander of the American Army naturally labored under odium. He was brought to Frederick Town to await court martial. The trial of Burr having ended with a verdict of acquittal for the traitor, the

³⁵ United States *vs.* Burr, 1 Burr's Trial, 420.

³⁶ Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, Volume II, page 1108.

eyes of the American people were now focused upon the trial of Wilkinson. The court martial convened early in September, 1811, and consisted of thirteen high military officers. Mr. Taney was only 34 years old, but he had already become recognized as an able advocate. He and Mr. Thomas, still warm friends, politically and socially, had shared in the universal belief that the General had been treacherous to Colonel Burr at the famous Richmond trial. They were both familiar with the main facts in the case. But, after studying all the evidence carefully from the standpoint of General Wilkinson, they came to the conclusion that they had done him an injustice and for nearly four months they drew heavily upon their resources in defending him and refused to accept any fee for their professional services. Walter Jones, acting as Judge Advocate, made a brilliant fight for Wilkinson's conviction. He was an able orator and a distinguished lawyer, having served as counsel with Martin in opposition to Webster, Wirt and Pinkney, three of America's greatest lawyers, in the celebrated case of *McCulloch vs. Maryland*, 4 Wheat. 316, and in many other cases before the United States Supreme Court. After one of the most notable military trials in the history of the United States, the court martial adjourned on Christmas Day. Wilkinson was acquitted. In referring to the Army at the beginning of the War of 1812, one historian says: ³⁷

“At the head of the list of Brigadier-Generals stood the name of James Wilkinson, the most infamous man then wearing the uniform of the United States. He had just been tried by a Court Martial on the ground that he was a pensioner of Spain, an accomplice of Aaron Burr, an officer insubordinate, negligent, wasteful and corrupt. Every charge was well founded. But the Court had seen fit to acquit him, Madison had approved the verdict and he was retained in his old command.”

Madison, in his order restoring Wilkinson's sword, wrote:

“Although I have observed in those proceedings, with regret, that there are instances in the conduct of the Court,

³⁷ McMaster, *History of the United States*.

as well as of the officer on trial, evidently and justly objectionable, his acquittal of the several charges against him are approved, and his sword is accordingly ordered to be restored."

The acquittal of the General was manifestly a brilliant forensic accomplishment for Thomas and Taney.

But a later case, although not prosecuted with as much vigor as the case of General Wilkinson, is Mr. Taney's most famous criminal trial. It probably did not attract quite as wide-spread attention as the Wilkinson court martial, but it is a matter of history because of Taney's statements to the jury, which throw illumination upon his character and his whole career. Rev. Jacob Gruber, a Methodist from Pennsylvania, on Sunday evening, August 16, 1818, delivered an hour's sermon on *National Sins* at a camp-meeting in Washington county. In the course of his sermon, he declared:

"We live in a free country; and that all men are created equal, and have inalienable rights, such as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, we hold as self-evident truths. But there are slaves in our country, and their sweat, and blood, and tears declare them such. The voice of our brother's blood crieth. Is it not a reproach to a man to hold articles of liberty and independence in one hand and a bloody whip in the other, while a negro stands and trembles before him with his back cut and bleeding?"

In the audience of at least 3,000 people there were about 400 slaves, who were seated in the rear of the stand, and to them Rev. Gruber, after delivering his message freely to the masters for about three-quarters of an hour, addressed his remarks. Some of the slaveholders were infuriated over the elder's sermon. They felt that he had cast a slur upon Maryland in his description of the treatment the slaves were receiving in this State. They felt that his remarks were such as to be likely to create grave danger for those in whose homes the slaves were living and, therefore, were seditious. Rumors were afloat that

he would be arrested. The warrant for the elder's arrest was issued several weeks after the camp-meeting and he was finally apprehended. He gave bond and in due course of time was indicted by the Grand Jury at Hagerstown for endeavoring to instigate negro slaves to "commit acts of mutiny and rebellion in the said State, in contempt and in open violation of the laws, good order, and government of this State, and to the evil and pernicious example of all others in like case offending, and against the peace, government, and dignity of the State." Meanwhile, a minister at Middletown had begun to search for counsel. "I have seen Brother Pigman on the business," wrote the minister, "and he has promised to interest on your behalf, Lawyer Taney, the most influential and eminent barrister in Washington and Frederick."³⁸ Rev. Gruber desisted from his work, conferred with his counsel, Beene S. Pigman and Mr. Taney, who advised a removal, and prepared himself for the trial at Frederick during the March Term of 1819. Franklin Anderson conducted the prosecution. For the accused, Mr. Taney made the opening statement, while Mr. Pigman examined the witnesses. Luther Martin was retained to assist the defense and all three of the lawyers made impressive arguments before the jury. Mr. Taney delivered the closing argument. Speaking one hour, he made, according to an account of the trial, "with his usual eloquence and zeal, a most effectual and conclusive argument."³⁹

In the course of his opening statement, Mr. Taney uttered the following significant and historic statement concerning slavery:

"A hard necessity, indeed, compels us to endure the evil of slavery for a time. It was imposed upon us by another nation, while we were yet in a state of colonial vassalage. It cannot be easily or suddenly removed. Yet, while it continues, it is a blot on our national character; and every

³⁸ Extract of letter of Rev. S. G. Roszel, quoted by W. P. Strickland in *Life of Jacob Gruber*, page 140.

³⁹ Strickland, *Life of Gruber*, page 248.

real lover of freedom confidently hopes that it will effectually, though it must be gradually, wiped away; and earnestly looks for the means by which this necessary object may be best attained. And until it shall be accomplished, until the time shall come when we can point without a blush to the language held in the Declaration of Independence, every friend of humanity will seek to lighten the galling chain of slavery, and better, to the utmost of his power, the wretched condition of the slave."

Rev. Gruber, in describing his trial, wrote in part as follows:

"There was a great crowd, curiosity, and excitement at the Court. . . . My lawyers spoke well; but it was thought by many that after the witnesses were all heard the jury could have decided without leaving the jury box." ⁴⁰

The jury, after short deliberation, rendered a verdict of acquittal.

Chief Justice Taney's career at the Frederick bar enables the American people to form a just estimate of his ability and character. Possessed as he was of an iron will and Spartan courage, he was also generous to a fault; hence, Frederick lost a great citizen, loved, honored and respected, when he left for Baltimore in 1823. Because of his Dred Scott decision, Chief Justice Taney was regarded by the people in the North as a heartless believer in slavery. But, the manumission of seven of his own slaves in 1818, his classic declaration to the jury in the Gruber case in 1819, his extraordinary kindness to all slaves, the black man's own appreciation of his tender heart, as evidenced by the free negro's voluntary indenture to him in 1817, considered together with his opposition as counsel to the manumission of the ten negroes in Harford County in 1821, are sufficient to show his true attitude on the slavery question. He would, in short, have preferred at any time in his career the abolition of the system of human slavery, if it had been legally possible.

⁴⁰ W. P. Strickland, *Life of Jacob Gruber*, page 256-7.

Several years after his return from Annapolis as State Senator, Mr. Taney decided to leave Frederick. He had appeared at Annapolis before the Court of Appeals upon many occasions and his reputation as a lawyer had been established throughout the State. In 1821, he had been called from Frederick by Mr. Harper to assist him in the important ejectment case of *Browne vs. Kennedy* against Winder, Williams and William Pinkney. The case involved riparian rights based upon the proprietary title to land reclaimed from Maryland waters.⁴¹ The Court, through Chase, *C. J.*, held, with three judges concurring and one dissenting, that under the law of England and the Charter of Maryland the grantees of property on both sides of Jones' Falls acquired from Charles Carroll of Carrollton the right of accretion by alluvion or by the gradual recession of the water *ad filum medium aquae*.

During the last fifteen years of his residence in Frederick, Mr. Taney appeared in over 50 cases before the Court of Appeals. His reputation was such that when William Pinkney, who had won national reputation as Attorney-General of the United States, as United States Senator and also as the leader of the American bar, passed away in February, 1822, it was the general opinion that Mr. Taney was eminently fitted for the leadership of the bar in Maryland. In the same month, the Legislature passed a joint resolution requiring every practitioner of law in Maryland to pay \$5 annually for the support of the great Luther Martin, who was now a wreck. Accordingly, Taney believed there was a larger sphere of usefulness for him in Baltimore. "With all his love of Frederick," says one writer,⁴² "both duty and professional ambition constrained him to leave it."

In the fall of 1822, Francis Scott Key offered for sale the large estate on Pipe Creek, which had been owned by his father, the late John Ross Key, and which was the birthplace of Mr. Taney's wife. Francis Scott Key and Roger Brooke Taney,

⁴¹ *Browne et al. Lessee vs. Kennedy*, 5 H. & J., page 156.

⁴² Tyler, Chapter II, page 143.

and their families, met together at the mansion on the Key estate annually for many years. It was here that Mr. Taney was wedded to Miss Key. Being an estate of over 500 acres, nearly a fourth in woodland, the tranquil surroundings were particularly attractive to Mr. Taney. It was a typical Maryland plantation, where, after the labors of the farm were over at night, the negro slaves were summoned along with the family to prayers conducted by Francis Scott Key when he was there and by his mother when he was away.⁴³ Mr. Taney himself was a man of deep religious devotion. For many years he could be seen every morning during his residence in Frederick at his religious devotions in the little Catholic Chapel, near which his mother was buried. Before taking his departure from Frederick he made arrangements with a friend, William Murdock Beall, a younger man than himself, for his own burial by the side of his mother.

In the spring of 1823 Mr. Taney advertised for sale his household and kitchen furniture and also his lot on Church Street which he had bought in 1821.⁴⁴ He had sold, in February, his home on Bentz Street, together with about two acres of land connected with it,⁴⁵ but his furniture was not sold until Friday, April 25, when it was disposed of by auction.⁴⁶ The Church Street lot was left in the hands of Mr. Beall, Mr. Taney's advertisement reading: "Terms will be made known on application to Wm. M. Beall, Jr., or to subscriber." The lot was not sold until over a year later.⁴⁷

Without any interruption in his professional career, Mr. Taney continued his practice at Baltimore, arriving there at the age of 46, in the very prime of his life. His fame had preceded him. During his eight years of practice at Baltimore he appeared in between 75 and 100 cases before the Court of

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pages 101 and 102.

⁴⁴ Liber J. S. 15, Folio 284.

⁴⁵ Liber J. S. 17, Folio 311.

⁴⁶ *Frederick-Town Herald*, April 19, 1823.

⁴⁷ Liber J. S. 20, Folio 182.

Appeals. While he is known to the American people as the adviser of President Andrew Jackson, as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States and as the author of the celebrated Dred Scott decision, he was also distinguished as a lawyer. He was not an orator, but, on account of his profound knowledge of the law and his personality, which radiated his qualities of kindness and courtesy, sincerity and honesty, courage and conviction, he was eminent at the early bar of Maryland.

"I knew Mr. Taney from my early childhood," says William Schley, a State Senator in 1836 and an able lawyer. "As a boy, as a youth, and afterwards, as a student of law, I heard him very often, in causes of magnitude in the Court of Frederick; and his arguments and his manner made a deep impression upon me. He sought no aid from rules of rhetoric, none from the supposed graces of elocution. I do not remember to have heard him, at any time, make a single quotation from any of the poets. Yet his language was always chaste and classical, and his eloquence undoubtedly was great—sometimes persuasive and gentle, sometimes impetuous and overflowing. He spoke, when excited, from the feelings of his heart, and, as his heart was right, he spoke with prodigious effect. And yet, perhaps above all other attributes, his exalted private character gave him, with the honest, right-minded juries of Frederick County, an extent of success which even his great abilities as an advocate would not have enabled him otherwise to secure. . . . He was an open and fair practitioner. He never entrapped the opposing counsel by any of the manoeuvres of an artful attorney; and he contemned, above all things, the low tricks of a pettifogger. In taking exception to the adverse rulings of the Court, he never cloaked a point, but presented it, fairly and distinctly, for adjudication by the Court."⁴⁸

Speaking of the brilliancy of the Maryland bar at the time Mr. Taney resided in Frederick, Reverdy Johnson, in his eulogy delivered in Washington after Taney's death, said:

⁴⁸ Tyler, pages 139 and 140.

"Its bar was then adorned by Winder, Dorsey, Harper, Pinkney and Martin, all of them men of profound legal learning, some of them of dazzling and extraordinary eloquence. They were the equals of the most eminent of the profession. In this galaxy of talent, Mr. Taney shone with a splendor that challenged admiration, and made him, in the opinion of all, their equal."⁴⁹

Benjamin R. Curtis, in his memorial address in Boston in 1864, declared that the general impression in that part of the country that Taney was neither a learned nor a profound lawyer was certainly a mistake. Lauding the profound knowledge and marked ability of John Marshall's successor as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, he said:

"His mind was thoroughly imbued with the rules of the common law and of equity law. . . . His skill in applying it was of the highest order. His power of subtle analysis exceeded that of any man I ever knew. . . . It is one of the favors which the Providence of God has bestowed on our once happy country, that for the period of 63 years this great office has been filled by only two persons, each of whom has retained, to extreme old age, his great and useful qualities and powers. The stability, uniformity and completeness of our national jurisprudence are in no small degree attributable to this Act."⁵⁰

⁴⁹ "Address to members of Bar of Supreme Court, in Capitol," Dec. 6, 1864.

⁵⁰ "Address before members of Bar of First Circuit, Boston, Mass., Oct. 15, 1864.

HON. DANIEL DULANY. 1722-1797
(The Younger)

RICHARD HENRY SPENCER

Among the prominent lawyers of the Province of Maryland, just before the War of the Revolution, no one stood higher for intellectual ability, for profound classical and legal learning, or for the charm of eloquence than Daniel Dulany, the younger.

He was born in Annapolis, Maryland, June 28, 1722,¹ the eldest son of that able lawyer, Daniel Dulany, the elder, who was so successful in the controversy over the right of the people to the benefit of the English Statutes, and who for many years was Attorney General of the Province, and a member of the Council during the successive administrations of Governors Bladen, Ogle and Sharpe. His mother was Rebecca Smith, born 1696, died 1737, the fourth daughter of Col. Walter Smith and Rachel Hall, his wife, of Calvert County.

He was educated at Eton College and Clare Hall, Cambridge University, England, where he was well grounded in English and classical literature, and was entered at the Middle Temple in January, 1743.² Like his father, he chose the profession of the law, but he was soon destined to outshine him in legal attainments and to become the great oracle of the law in the Province.

Returning to America, he was admitted to the bar in 1747, and in 1751, he was practicing before the Provincial Court, where he continued to practice, with marked success, until the fall of the Proprietary Government.

There were no reports of the decisions of the Courts of Maryland until 1809. (1 Harris & McHenry). In that volume, the legal opinions of Daniel Dulany, the younger, on various subjects, bearing the impress of his commanding abili-

¹ *St. Anne's Parish Register*. Annapolis.

² *Dulany Papers*. Letter from Daniel Dulany, the younger, to his father January 22, 1743.

ties, are published along with the decisions of the Provincial Court and the Court of Appeals. An unparalleled honor. In a note to one of his opinions, page 248, the reporters say: "It is well known by the contemporaries of Mr. Dulany, that his legal talents were held in such high estimation by the Court and the gentlemen of the bar, that they were constantly in the practice of taking his opinion on litigated points of importance."

It is said that frequently questions were withdrawn from the Courts in the southern counties of Virginia adjacent to Maryland, and even from the Chancellor of England for submission to his award.

The eminent lawyer John V. L. McMahon says: "For many years before the downfall of the Proprietary Government, he stood confessedly without a rival in this colony, as a lawyer, a scholar and an orator; and we may safely hazard the assertion that in the high and varied accomplishments which constitute these, he has had amongst the sons of Maryland, but one equal and no superior. . . . Thus unrivalled in professional learning, according to the representations of his contemporaries, he added to it all the power of the orator, the accomplishment of the scholar, the graces of the person and the sauvity of the gentleman. Mr. Pinkney himself, the wonder of the age, who saw but the setting splendor of Mr. Dulany's talents, is reported to have said of him that 'even among such men as Fox, Pitt and Sheridan, he had not found his superior.' " ³

Dr. Tyler, in his Memoir of Chief Justice Taney, says: "The opinions of this great Maryland lawyer had almost as much weight in Maryland, and hardly less with the crown lawyers of England, than the opinions of the great Roman jurists, that were made authority by edict of the Emperor, had in Roman courts. . . . The high reputation of this great lawyer stimulated the ambition of the Maryland bar, while his opinions were models of legal discussion for their imitation." ⁴

³ *Historical View of the Government of Maryland.* By John V. L. McMahon, 1831.

⁴ *Memoir of Roger Brooke Taney, LL. D.* By Samuel Tyler, LL. D. Pp. 132, 133 (1872).

In acknowledging our indebtedness to the Roman Jurists, it has been said that "The law in general, and equity jurisprudence in particular, are under manifold obligations to the eminent legal expounders of ancient times. In methodical arrangement, in brevity, in simplicity, in conciseness, in purity of diction, in lucidity of statement, in comprehensiveness of grasp, in force of argument, in aptness of comparison, in array of precedents they find no parallel in the modern law book."

In the year 1751, Mr. Dulany represented Frederick County in the Lower House of Assembly, at which time he was appointed a member of the Committee on Laws, his colleagues being Dr. Charles Carroll, Colonel Robert Jenkins Henry, Philip Key, Matthew Tilghman and Major Henry Hall.

He again represented Frederick County in the Lower House in the years 1752, 1753 and 1754, and in 1756 he was returned from the City of Annapolis. In 1754 he was appointed Deputy Commissary General and Commissary General 1759 to 1761.

In 1757 he was appointed by the Lord Proprietor a member of his Lordship's Council,⁵ and in 1761 Secretary of the Province, which offices he held in conjunction from the latter period until the War of the Revolution.

In 1760 he was appointed by Frederick Lord Baltimore to act as one of the Commisisoners to fix the boundary line between Maryland and Pennsylvania, his colleagues being Gov. Horatio Sharpe, Benjamin Tasker, Jr., Edward Lloyd, Robert Jenkins Henry and Stephen Bordley.⁶

In 1759, the close of which terminated with the Conquest of Canada, with a heavy charge upon the treasury of Great Britain, the subject of taxing the Colonies engaged anew the attention of the British Ministry. The subject of a Colonial Revenue and a demand for taxation of the Colonies by Act of Parliament, had been suggested four years before by General Braddock, under instructions from the British Government, at the Council of Colonial Governors in 1755, convened at the "Carlyle

⁵ *Maryland Archives*, Vol. 31, p. 221.

⁶ *Calvert Papers*, No. 158.

House," in Alexandria, Virginia, just before his disastrous defeat at Fort Desquesne.

The French and Indian wars had entailed a heavy burden of expense upon the mother country, and there were many who thought that since the Colonies shared in the benefits of the wars, they ought also to share in the burden which it brought.

The British Government having finally determined to raise a tax in America on March 22, 1765, Parliament passed the famous Stamp Act, which required all legal documents in the Colonies to bear stamps, upon which a duty should be paid. Everywhere throughout the Colonies the greatest excitement and indignation prevailed. The columns of the *Maryland Gazette* were filled with articles assailing the measure, and it was determined never to use the stamps.

The colonists denied the right of the British Parliament, in which they were not represented, to impose taxes upon them. It was at this time that Mr. Dulany wrote his celebrated essay entitled "Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes in the British Colonies for the Purpose of Raising a Revenue by Act of Parliament,"⁷ published in Annapolis, October 14, 1765, and which was everywhere acknowledged in the Colonies, as well as in England, to be one of the best defenses of the rights of the Colonies which appeared during the controversy.

In this essay, Mr. Dulany, as a lawyer, pointed out in a clear, simple and forcible manner that the Colonists, as British subjects, were not represented in Parliament, that taxation without representation was a violation of the common law of England, and as a statesman he ably and clearly discussed the principles of the British Constitution.

This essay was republished in London in 1766, and the arguments used by Mr. Dulany in his unanswerable defence of the rights of the people, were not only freely used, but were the basis of Pitt's great speech in the House of Commons in

⁷ Republished in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 6, pp. 374-405 (1911), and Vol. 7, pp. 26-59 (1912).

favor of the repeal of the Stamp Act, and it was in this great debate that Burke made his maiden speech.

Green, in his life of William Pitt Earl of Chatham, says: "The reply that the Americans were 'virtually' represented was a misleading artifice, as was clearly shown in Daniel Dulany's pamphlet 'Considerations on the Propriety of Taxing the Colonies,' one of the ablest American arguments from which Pitt freely quoted in his speech."⁸

And Williams, in his life of Pitt, says: "On this occasion he read what the Americans had to say, notably a well-argued pamphlet by Daniel Dulany of Maryland, 'Considerations, &c.' (Annapolis, 1765). In one of his speeches of the 1766 session, Pitt mentioned this pamphlet with approval and in his great speeches of January 14, 1766, paid it the still higher compliment of reproducing much of its argument and some even of its language."⁹

That Pitt freely used the pamphlet, in his great speeches in the House of Commons, is confirmed by the Earl of Shelburne's letter to the Earl of Chatham, dated Hill Street, Friday night, February 6, 1767, in which he writes: "But all that I have to say on this head is so much better expressed in a letter from Mr. Dulany, the author of the American pamphlet to which your Lordship did so much honour last session than in any words of my own, that I beg to refer you to that, and enclose it with the other papers with that view."¹⁰

The Stamp Act was repealed March 18, 1766, and it is a fact "that the debates over the repeal contain the first serious discussion of the Constitution of the British Empire which had ever occurred in Parliament. While the Colonists were practically united in the views they expressed, a great variety of opinions was expressed in Parliament. On the question of

⁸ *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*. By Walford Davis Green, M. P., p. 260 (1901).

⁹ *Life of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*. By Basil Williams, Vol. 2, p. 182 (1913).

¹⁰ *Correspondence of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*. Vol. 3, p. 192 (1839).

right Lord Mansfield affirmed the absolute supremacy of Parliament in realm and dominions, while Camden and Pitt drew the sharp line of distinction between taxation and legislation upon which the Colonists insisted and denied the right of Parliament to tax the Colonists."

Mr. McMahon says: "Conspicuous amongst all the essays of that day in opposition to the Stamp Act, is one to the honor of which Maryland lays claim, as the production of her most distinguished son. It came from the pen of one whose name was a tower of strength. Abilities that defied competition, learning that ranged with an eagle—flight over every science, accomplishments that fascinated and gentleness that soothed even envy, all conspired to render Daniel Dulany the fit advocate for such a cause."

Hon. Woodrow Wilson says: "In the literature of the Revolution, forces were released which transformed letters into an instrument of creation and brought nothing less than a nation into self-consciousness. It had its beginnings in the protest against the Stamp Act, grave state papers, the addresses of colonial assemblies and of the Congress at New York, the arguments of jurists, and the letters of observant men of affairs. Here was the structure of an empire to be debated. The very scope and capital significance of such a debate called to the best minds of the Colonies like a challenge. Pamphlets began to come from the press which showed quiet men unexpectedly turned statesmen and masters of style to state the case for the liberties of the Colonies. Mr. Daniel Dulany's 'Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes in the British Colonies for the Purpose of Raising a Revenue by Act of Parliament,' supplied the great Pitt with the chief grounds of his argument against taxing America. A Maryland lawyer had turned from leading the bar of a province to set up the true theory of the constitution of an empire with the dignity, the moderation, the power, the incommunicable grace of a great thinker and genuine man of letters."¹¹

¹¹ *History of the American People*. By Woodrow Wilson, Vol. 3, p. 87 (1902).

The Charter of the Province of Maryland, granted June 20, 1632, by Charles I to Cecilius Calvert, Second Lord Baltimore, contained the most comprehensive grant of civil authority and jurisdiction that ever came from the English crown. As Absolute Lord and Proprietary, he had the rank of a count palatine. He appointed the Governor and all the civil and military officers of the Province, created manors, etc. He had the power of life and death over the inhabitants as regards punishment for crime, and all writs were in his name.

From a very early period the public officials were not paid salaries for their services, but received definite fees, which were, however, regulated at times by the General Assembly. One of these acts passed in the year 1763, had been continued, from time to time until October, 1770, and then came up again for renewal in September, 1770.

After much heated discussion between the two Houses of Assembly, the session ended without the renewal of the acts fixing the fees of the officers of the government, which were claimed to be excessive, especially those of the Provincial Secretary, the Commissary General, the Judges and the Register of the Land Office, who were all members of the Council or Upper House.

In consequence of the failure on the part of the two Houses to establish the fees, Governor Eden prorogued the Legislature, and by virtue of the supposed prerogative of his office, issued his Proclamation November 26, 1770, to re-establish the fee bill of 1763, and ordered a new election returnable February 4, 1771. This aroused strong opposition, involving also the question relating to the provision for the established Clergy and the Vestry Act of 1701-2.

The first Assembly held after the issuing of the Proclamation was convened October 2, 1771, but the proceedings of the Lower House being in direct opposition to the Proclamation, the Assembly was prorogued from time to time for two years.

A new election was, however, ordered for May 20, 1773. In the meantime the contest was carried on in the columns of

the *Maryland Gazette*, by anonymous correspondents under various names or pseudonyms.

On January 7, 1773, a communication appeared in the *Maryland Gazette*, by an unknown author, in which two citizens under the respective titles of "First Citizen" and "Second Citizen," discussed Governor Eden's proclamation; the "First Citizen" argued against the action of the Governor in establishing the fees, while the "Second Citizen" defended it, and was made to get the better of the argument. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who proved himself a powerful antagonist, replied on the part of the people on February 4, and afterwards published a series of articles under the name of "First Citizen," involving also the question of taxation for support of religion which were replied to by Daniel Dulany, the Provincial Secretary, and the ablest lawyer in the Province, under the pseudonym of "Antilon," who naturally being an office holder opposed the reduction of fees. These articles, eight in number, four on each side, were masterpieces of legal learning, full of classical quotations, powerful arguments and courteous vituperation.

A traveller from New England (Hon. Josiah Quincy, Jr.), a great student of books and of political institutions, visited the southern Colonies at this time (1773), and recorded in his journal an account of the political agitation then going on in the Province of Maryland. He writes:

"I spent about three hours in company with the celebrated Daniel Dulany (author of *Considerations*, etc.); the Attorney General of the Province (Edmund Jennings); and several others of the bar and gentlemen of the Province. Dulany is a diamond of the first water, a gem that may grace the cap of a patriot or the turban of a Sultan. A most bitter and important dispute is subsisting, and has long subsisted, in this Province touching the fees of this Colony, and the Governor's proclamation relative thereto, which I have in print. At the conference of the two houses, the dispute was conducted with good sense and spirit, but with great acrimony, by Daniel Dulany of the Council and the Speaker, Mr. Matthew

Tilghman of the Lower House. The same dispute is now kept up in the public papers by Daniel Dulany, on one side, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton on the other, with mutual bitterness. The signature of Dulany is 'Antilon,' that of Carroll is 'The First Citizen.' Carroll and Dulany are both men of great fortune."

Hon. J. H. B. Latrobe, in a biographical sketch of Mr. Dulany, says: "It was the fortune of the writer of this sketch to hear from Mr. Carroll's lips his recollection of the controversy, and to hear him bear witness to the rare talent, the distinguished abilities, and high position, socially and politically, of his opponent in 1773."

The election in May, 1773, which was held under great excitement, and during the progress of this controversy, resulted in the complete triumph of the anti-proclamation party. At this time the members of the Proprietor's Council were Richard Lee, Benedict Calvert, Daniel Dulany, John Ridout, Walter Dulany, John Beale Bordley, George Steuart, William Hayward, William Fitzhugh, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer and George Plater.¹²

On July 2, 1773, the Lower House resolved that the "Proclamation of Governor Eden of November 26, 1770, was *illegal, arbitrary, unconstitutional and oppressive.*"¹³

The election in May was the last ever held under the Proprietary Government, and the last session of the Assembly commenced March 23, 1774, and ended April 19, 1774. In that year the Provincial Convention, members of which were elected by the people, began to direct the revolutionary movement, it gradually assumed charge of the Government, and became the sovereign power of the people of Maryland.

In 1775 a temporary form of government for the Province was established and articles of association, known as the "Association of Freeman of Maryland," were drawn up and

¹² *Upper House Journal*, 1762-1774, Vol. 36.

¹³ *Lower House Journal*, 1769-1774, Vol. 54.

signed by all the members of the Convention. In November, 1776, a Declaration of Rights and a Constitution were adopted, and in March, 1777, the new Government of the State of Maryland was organized. This first Constitution of the State of Maryland was of an aristocratic rather than of a democratic nature.

Maryland did not at first contemplate or favor independence and had so instructed her delegates to the Continental Congress, and it was not until her delegates were found almost alone in holding back that their instructions not to vote for independence was rescinded, for many of her best citizens (among them the Dulanys), desired the continuance of the Proprietary Government, especially Daniel Dulany, the younger. He was not only the Secretary of the Province, but he was also a member of the Proprietary's Council, and "no doubt was universally consulted by the Governor in all important cases coming before the Governor, who acted as Chancellor."¹⁴

Had Mr. Dulany espoused the Revolutionary cause he would have added much to his brilliant career, for undoubtedly additional honors would have been conferred upon him.

William Eddis, an Englishman, who was Surveyor of the Customs, at Annapolis, in his published letters, gives a vivid picture of Maryland's social life in 1769, up to the War of the Revolution, tells how he found refuge, when Annapolis became too revolutionary for his comfort, at Daniel Dulany's beautiful country seat "Hunting Ridge," about six miles distant from Baltimore.

"I write to you" (he says to his wife), November 1, 1776, "from one of the most delightful situations on the continent of America, where I have obtained an occasional retreat from the noise, the tumult and the miseries of the public world. From the back piazza of our habitation we command a truly picturesque view into several fertile counties; a distant prospect of the Eastern Shore; the magnificent waters of the Chesapeake, and the river Patapsco, from the entrance at the Bodkin Point, to

¹⁴ 1 *Harris and McHenry Reports*. Note a, p. 352 (1809).

its apparent termination at the town of Baltimore. After this inadequate description, I need not observe, that we reside on a lofty eminence, where

“ the air
Nimbly, and sweetly recommends itself
Unto our gentle senses.”

On May 1, 1777, he writes: “I have taken my leave of Hunting Ridge, and trust I am on the point of bidding farewell to Maryland.” On June 7, 1777, he writes: “I have taken leave of the few faithful friends still residing in Annapolis. Perhaps a final one. . . . I shall embark in a few minutes. So will Mr. Dulany, as his vessel is likewise in the harbour and ready for sea.”¹⁵

Upon Mr. Dulany's return from England he gave up his residence in Annapolis, and with his wife and only daughter, Ann Dulany, retired to their country seat, “Hunting Ridge,” and where they resided until the iron heel of public opinion deprived them of their property.

From “Hunting Ridge,” Ann Dulany on February 3, 1781, writes to her cousin, Miss Lowndes, who lived near Bladensburg, Md., as follows: “In all probability we shall not have it in our power to remain here much longer, as I believe there is little doubt of the Confiscation Bill passing.”

“Hunting Ridge” could have been no cheerful home for her, with the anticipation of immediate loss of her father's property, yet her letters to her relatives at that time are playful even when she indulges in satirical comments upon her political opponents, both French and American, and yet after all in the end she married a Frenchman.

At the May Term, 1781, of the General Court, of which Hon. Robert Hanson Harrison was Chief Judge, Hon. Nicholas Thomas and Hon. Alexander Contee Hanson were Associate Judges, the following persons were presented for High Treason,

¹⁵ *Letters from America, Historical and Descriptive.* By William Eddis, pp. 334, 359, London, 1792.

viz: Rev. Jonathan Boucher, Henry Addison, Rev. William Edmiston, John Montgomery, Rev. Bennett Allen, Anthony Stewart, Daniel Dulany of Daniel, Daniel Dulany of Walter, Lloyd Dulany, Henry Riddle, Philip Key, Daniel Addison, Charles Gordon, Thomas French, George Chalmers, Nathaniel Richardson, George Howard, Leigh Master, David Carcand and Daniel Stevenson. The actions were struck off, however, at the May Term, 1872, the property of many of these Maryland Loyalists having been confiscated and sold.

On August 25, 1781, Daniel Dulany's real and personal property, consisting in part of ten lots in the City of Annapolis, upon one of which stood a "commodious and finely situated house in which Mr. Tasker formerly lived, with other buildings," was sold under the Confiscation Act.

And on October 10, 1781, "a number of lots in Frederick Town, with the improvements thereon; also several tracts, containing about seven thousand (7,000) acres of very valuable land, lying contiguous to the said Town, most of which is improved," were sold under the Confiscation Act.

And also on December 7, 1781, at Baltimore Town, "that elegant and well improved seat, called Hunting Ridge," was sold under the said Confiscation Act.¹⁶

All of the above property sold for £84,602, "the estates of a man who had never breathed an unfriendly breath and had never raised his hand in one overt act."

In the fall of 1781 the Dulanys removed from "Hunting Ridge" to Baltimore. Mr. Dulany did not actively engage in the practice of the law after his removal to Baltimore, but on account of his great eminence in his profession he was constantly consulted by other lawyers in the preparation of their cases.

From Baltimore, Ann Dulany dates the rest of her letters to her relative, in one of which in 1782 she shows the kindness of her heart by her sympathy for Mrs. Washington in the loss of her son. She writes: "I am very sorry for the death of Mr. Custis, but much more so for the sufferings of poor Mrs. Washington. Does not this prove, had we wanted proof, that

¹⁶ *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, 1781.

there is no such thing as perfect happiness in this world of uncertainty."

Daniel Dulany, the younger, married September 16, 1749, Rebecca Tasker, born in Annapolis, November 4, 1724,¹⁷ died in Brighton, Sussex, England, in September, 1822, having nearly completed her 98th year.¹⁸ She was the second daughter of Hon. Benjamin Tasker, for 32 years a member of the Council and Acting Governor of the Province from May 3, 1752, to August 10, 1753, and Ann Bladen, his wife, the only daughter of Hon. William Bladen, of Annapolis, who was the son of Nathaniel Bladen, barrister, Hemsworth, Yorkshire, England, and Isabella Fairfax, his wife, second daughter of Sir William Fairfax of Steeton, Yorkshire, and his wife, Frances, daughter of Edmund Lord Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave. Sir William Fairfax commanded a brigade at the battle of Marston Moor, under his cousin, Sir Thomas Fairfax, the great Parliamentary General. He fell covered with wounds in the moment of victory at the siege of Montgomery Castle, Wales, September 19, 1644.¹⁹

The children of Daniel Dulany, the younger, and Rebecca (Tasker) Dulany, his wife, were:

1. Daniel Dulany, Jr., born in Annapolis in 1750, died unmarried, in Downing Street, Westminster, August 12, 1824.²⁰

2. Benjamin Tasker Dulany, born in Annapolis in 1752, died 1816; married February 10, 1773, Elizabeth French of Virginia, leaving many descendants.

3. Ann Dulany, born in Annapolis, married M. de la Serre, and died at Grand Parade, Brighthelmstone (now Brighton), October 2, 1828.²¹ Her only child, Rebecca Ann, the heiress of her uncle, Daniel Dulany, Jr., assumed the name of Dulany and married Sir Richard Hunter, and died, without issue, at Brighton, Sussex, England.

¹⁷ *St. Anne's Parish Register*. Annapolis.

¹⁸ *Gentleman's Magazine*, London, Vol. 92, Part 2, p. 286.

¹⁹ *Pedigree of Yorkshire Families* (Fairfax Chart), Vol. 1, West Riding. By Joseph Foster, 1874.

²⁰ *Gentleman's Magazine*, London, Vol. 94, Part 2, p. 189.

Daniel Dulany, Jr., the eldest son, was taken to England by his father in July, 1761, and was educated at Eton. He never returned to America but once after he was taken abroad to be educated, and that was in 1785, when he paid a visit to his family. General Washington in his diary thus writes: "Thursday, December 22, 1785, at Mount Vernon, went a fox hunting with the following gentlemen who came here yesterday, Daniel Dulany, Jr., Benjamin Dulany, Samuel Harrison, Thomas Harrison, Philip Alexander, together with Ferdinando Fairfax and a Mr. Shaw."

In 1783 the British Parliament appointed a Commission to investigate the claims of the American Loyalists. Their report was afterwards made with an account of the compensation allowed them by Parliament in 1785 and 1789. A volume in the Public Record Office, London, written on vellum, contains a list of all the claimants under the commission, showing their claims and the amounts allowed. Mr. O. Locker Lampson, of Norfolk, England, a lineal descendant of the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, who was Rector of St. Anne's Church, Annapolis, June 12, 1770, to June 4, 1771, very kindly sent to the writer in January, 1908, the following amounts allowed to Daniel Dulany, Jr. (£24,130); and to his mother, Mrs. Rebecca Dulany (£5,000), on account of the property of Daniel Dulany, the younger, confiscated and sold by the State of Maryland in 1781, under the Confiscation Act.

Daniel Dulany, Jr., never married, and at his death, in 1824, he left his large fortune to his niece, Rebecca Ann de la Serre, whom he had adopted and who had taken the name of Dulany. She married, July 21, 1829, Sir Richard Hunter.²² Lady Hunter dying childless at Brighton, March 29, 1835,²³ left one-half of her fortune to her cousin and namesake, Rebecca Ann Dulany of Virginia, and the other half to her husband, Sir Richard Hunter, who married a second time, July 24,

²² *Ibid.*, Vol. 98, Part 2, p. 381.

²² *Gentleman's Magazine*, London, Vol. 99, Part 2, p. 74.

²³ *Ibid.*, N. S., Vol. 3, p. 670.

1837,²⁴ Frederica Emma Bishop, daughter of Charles Bishop, Esq., of Sunbury, Middlesex, Procurator General to His Majesty George III.

On the death of Sir Richard Hunter of Dulany House, Sussex, March 16, 1848,²⁵ his widow married secondly. November 24, 1851, the fifth Earl of Lanesborough.²⁶

Benjamin Tasker Dulany, the second son, before the War of the Revolution, went to Frederick County to live, residing at "Prospect Hall," near Frederick Town. He married, February 10, 1773, Elizabeth French, daughter of Daniel French of "Claremont," Fairfax County, Virginia, and the ward of General Washington, who gave her away at her marriage.

Not long after this event Mr. Dulany presented to General Washington the celebrated horse Blueskin, which he rode during the War of the Revolution. The horse was returned to Mrs. Dulany with the following note after the close of the war:

"General Washington presents his best respects to Mrs. Dulany with the horse Blueskin, which he wishes was better worth her acceptance. Marks of antiquity have supplied the place of those beauties with which the horse abounded in his better days, nothing but the recollection of which and of his having been the favorite of Mr. Dulany in the days of his courtship can reconcile her to the meagre appearance he now makes. Friday, past 2 o'clock."

Benjamin Tasker Dulany and Elizabeth (French) Dulany, his wife, had six sons and six daughters, many descendants of whom are now living in Maryland, Virginia and elsewhere.

Daniel Dulany, the younger, died at his residence, No. 6 St. Paul's Lane (now St. Paul Street), Baltimore, March 17, 1797.

The following obituary notice is copied from the *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser* of Thursday, March 23, 1797:

"Departed this life on Sunday Morning last, DANIEL

²⁴ *Ibid.*, N. S., Vol. 8, p. 302.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, N. S., Vol. 29, p. 558.

²⁶ *Burke's Peerage* (1912).

DULANY, Esq., barrister-at-law, in the 76th year of his age. In his professional character few men have obtained a greater reputation than Mr. Dulany. After a long course of pleadings, conducted with honor and talents, and attended with success, he was appointed to the honorable office of Secretary of Maryland, a station which he filled with a character the most unblemished. In all the duties of husband, father, friend and master, he was affectionate, tender, kind, and humane.

“His remains were on Tuesday interred in St. Paul’s burial ground, attended by a concourse of long-known friends and acquaintances; when a sermon, appropriate to the occasion was delivered by the Rev. Mr. Bend.”

He was buried first in the churchyard of old St. Paul’s Protestant Episcopal Church, which was in the rear and around the side of the present church edifice, corner of Charles and Saratoga streets. When this ground was built upon, his body was removed to St. Paul’s cemetery, at the corner of Lombard and Fremont streets, where it now rests.

The inscription on the altar tomb is as follows:

In Memory of
The Honble DANIEL DULANY, Esq.,
BARRISTER-AT-LAW,
Who with great INTEGRITY and HONOR
for Many years
Discharged the important Appointments
of
COMMISSARY-GENERAL,
SECRETARY OF MARYLAND,
and one of
The PROPRIETARY’S COUNCIL,
In private life
He was BELOVED,
and
DIED REGRETTED
March 17th, 1797,
Aged 75 years and 8 months.
REBECCA, his widow,
Daughter of the late Benjamin Tasker, Esq., of Annapolis,
Caused this TOMB to be erected.

After her husband's death, Mrs. Dulany went to England to live, residing at first with her eldest son, Daniel Dulany, Jr., and where she was joined by her daughter, Mrs. de la Serre, and her daughter. The family afterwards lived at Brighton, where Mrs. Dulany died in 1822, at an advanced age, having outlived her husband more than twenty-five years.

Among the contemporaries of Daniel Dulany, the younger, practicing before the Provincial Court up to the overthrow of the Proprietary Government, were Edward Dorsey; Stephen Bordley; James Tilghman; Charles Goldsborough; Thomas Johnson, Jr., afterwards first Governor of Maryland and one of the Associate Justices of the United States Supreme Court; John Hall; James Hollyday; Thomas Jennings; William Paca, afterwards one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence and Governor of Maryland; Samuel Chase, afterwards one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence and one of the Associate Justices of the United States Supreme Court; and Robert Goldsborough.

Daniel Dulany's name, with that of other distinguished lawyers who have left the impress of their strong personalities upon the laws and legal practice of Maryland, is perpetuated in the frieze of the Supreme Bench room in the Court House in Baltimore City.

"The conjecture may be hazarded," says Mr. McMahon, in writing of Mr. Dulany, "that had he not been thrown into collision with the leaders of the Revolution in this State, by the proclamation controversy (Governor Eden's proclamation regulating the fees), and thus involved in discussion with them, which excited high resentment on both sides, and kept him at a distance from them until the Revolution began; he would most probably have been found by their side, in support of the measures which led to it."

Dr. Steiner says: "The popular opinion has been that Charles Carroll had much the better of the argument with Dulany. In this opinion I do not join, though I admit most readily that in Carroll, Dulany found a worthy antagonist and that Carroll's success in arousing the people was most note-

worthy, especially when we consider his religious faith. . . . My conclusion is that Dulany's arguments found their best refutation in the paper written by William Paca, Thomas Johnson (Jr.) and Samuel Chase." ²⁷

But when the roll is called, one by one, of Maryland's most distinguished sons, the name of Daniel Dulany, the younger, the leader of his profession and the champion of the constitutional rights of the people, as British subjects, gathering "golden opinions from all sorts of men"; with his splendid talents, his profound learning, his masterly pen and his engaging eloquence, the great Quintilian of the day, will not be forgotten.

TANEY LETTERS.

(From the Society's Collections)

ROGER BROOKE TANEY FROM THE PRESIDENT

Feb. 9th, 1831 [1]

The President with his respects to chief justice Taney, and being informed by Mr Blair that the Supreme Court will adjourn on Saturday next. The President requests him to come and take a room with him during his stay. The President will have the room warmed on Saturday if Mr Taney will be here on that evening to occupy it.

February 9th, 1831.

Novbr 22^d 1833 [6]

My Dr Sir

My old and faithful friend, Mr Moses Dawson of Cincinnati will hand you this, and I beg leave to introduce him to your acquaintance. He has always sustained the character of an honest man, free from speculations of any kind. The within

²⁷ *Life and Administration of Sir Robert Eden*. By Bernard C. Steiner, Ph. D., p. 64 (1898).

note from Mr Dawson to me will make known his wishes, and as far as propriety and your official duties will permit, you may with safety impart to him the information he desires. Mr Dawson would not ask any information that is improper to give, and if he did, you, I am sure will not grant it, but any that may be proper, I am sure you will not withhold from him.

Yours very respectfully

Andrew Jackson

R. B. Taney Esq^r

Sec. of the Treasury

Nov^r 22^d 1833 [6]

Dear Sir

I hope the pressure of time will plead my excuse for this intrusion on your precious time.

Circumstances arising out of my —— for a deceased friend have obliged me to endeavor to raise some money on my property, and thinking that some of those who hold stock in that now payable might have a desire to invest a few thousand dollars in a loan for some time at a more advantageous rate of interest than that paid by Government, I wished to ascertain at the treasury the names, some of the holders resident in the neighbouring cities, the application Major Lewis was kind enough to make yesterday, but I find to day that it is not customary to give names. Still I would presume that if Mr Taney was aware of my object he might suffer the names of a few Stockholders to be given me, in order that I might know to whom I might apply for a loan.

May I therefore ask the favour of you to speak to Mr Taney on the subject, so that I may have the information required and you will confer another favor on

Your obed^t serv^t

Moses Dawson

20th Nov^r 1829 [19]

Dear Sir

I wish a clause to be inserted in my codicil confirming

the balances this day struck in my Bo. of F. A. and charged to the three branches of my family the respective sums to each are noted in the inclosed paper prepared by my clerk Mr George Neilson. I also desire to provide out of the general residues of my estate for £500 sterlg. guaranteed by me to Mess^{rs} A. Brown & Sons for my grand daughter Miss Caton which I give up. I wish you to finish the codicil as soon as convenient to have it off my mind.

Yours sincerely

Ch: Carroll of Carrollton

To R. B. Taney Esq^r

Department of State, June 21st 1831 [20]

Sir

I have great satisfaction in obeying the President's instructions to inform you that he has this day appointed you Attorney General of the United States and to ask your acceptance of that office.

Mr Berrier will be employed for a few days in arranging the business of the office in order to transfer it to you, should you signify your acceptance in which case your commission will be made out ready to be delivered when you shall find it convenient to come on and assume the duties of the office.

I have the honor to be

With great Respect

Your mo. Obed^t Serv^t

Edw. Livingston

Roger B. Taney Esq^r

On board the Ship Delaware 27 August —33 [21]

My Dear Sir

I received your very kind letter amid the hurry of preparation for departure, and I received the notice to embark before I could thank you for an attention so grateful to my feelings. Among the recollections of com^{ts} passed in the two last years that of having formed your acquaintance is among the most

pleasing and the assurance that it has acquired for me a place in your friendship & Esteem is the most flattering that you could have given a coming into office as I did with a just diffidence of my powers to execute its duties to the advantage of the country it can not but be a source of high gratification to think that I have performed them in such a manner as to leave a favorable impression on the mind of one so well qualified to judge and that the strong desire I felt to stand high in his estimation, has in some measure been gratified.

We have been twelve days at Sea and have compleated nearly one half of our voyage so that with tolerable good fortune I shall arrive at my post by the middle of September. We have a noble ship, an excellent and remarkably genteel set of officers, and a crew acquiring every day the perfection that discipline alone can give and if the public service should not be found to have suffered by it, I shall felicitate myself on the delay, by which I was prevented from embarking in a packet. The interior operations of this floating community are interesting and can only be known by actual inspection & the knowledge may afterwards be turned to account.

I am extremely sorry I had not the pleasure to see you immediately previous to my leaving the city that I might make you renew the promise you made of writing me, and giving the events (as well as your reflections on them) that occur during my absence. I mean such as do not find their way into the public papers. The next Session will be one not devoid of interest, new parties must be formed. New actors will make their appearance on the political stage. Some of the old ones will retire behind the scenes, and other assume more prominent parts, all this will be doubly interesting to me while I am abroad, and to procure the metaphor although you may not be one of the prompters you will be in the green room and can give me the cast of character in the new Drama.

I write on board, in the hope of meeting some vessel, by which I can send my letter if not, that I may have it in readiness for the first packet after my arrival this acknowledge-

ment of your kindness. My wife and my daughter ask to be affectionately remembered to the Ladies of your family. be so good as to add my most respectful Compliments.

With the greatest regard

Your Friend & Hble Serv^t

Edw. Livingston.

When you see Mr Key will you ask him whether he rec^d a letter from me enclosing a draft for 1500 Dolls on the U. S. Bank at Washington indorsed to his order.

Washington 10 July 1831 [22]

My Dear Sir

(Confidential)

At the request of the President I make known to you the fact that Dr P. G. Randolph, late acting Secretary of War has resigned. Gov^r Cap of Michigan has been appointed to succeed Maj^r Eaton; until his arrival here, the President wishes the War Dept. to be placed under your control, if your business will admit of your attending to its duties. Gen^l Macombe is here ready to act, and you would have but little to do in that station. It would gratify all your friends & those of the President if you will consent to act. Please write me immediately on the receipt of this your determination. Allow me to embrace this occasion to congratulate you on your appointment to & our country on your acceptance of the office of Atty General.

Yours most Sincerely

& truly

W. T. Barry

Honb^l R. B. Taney

Baltimore

(Private)

Richmond Nov^r 5th 1833 [23]

My Dr Sir

I wrote you a long scrawl two days ago, in answer to your

letter of the 9th of October. I had not then seen Mr Daniel, nor did I know he had returned. He was with me last night & we talked over the whole matter. He left me with a promise to see Mr Ritchie & myself this morning. We have just parted & he has finally determined not to accept the appointment. His determination will I presume be announced by this mail to the State Department. I will not trouble you with the reasons which influenced his course; when we meet I will if you desire it do so. In the mean time rest assured it is all well. Better so, rely on it. The next thing will be to look out for a fit man. I much fear you will be troubled to find a suitable character as He hath. Pray who are you all looking to? Be sure of y^r man, or great mischief & vexation may ensue. Between ourselves I find that our f^d Daniel, dont agree with you & the P. about the Indian question &c. I was surprised last night to hear it. How will it do for the law officer to differ on this essential & cardinal point? I propose you will look well to this & the other vital questions. If we can aid you here in the way of opinion or advice we will do so. Praybury (?) is *as able* as son, a true man. It is all important. I take the liberty of sending the enclosed letter as a matter of business. Y^r predecessor Mr D. requires Mr Price (who is a fine young man) to resign one of the appointments. If compatible with the public interests I should like him to remain; the post Office app^t is worth only about \$200. I however submit the case for y^r consideration & better judgment. His friends have thought proper to make the communication through me to you, in his behalf & I beg leave to call y^r attention to it.

Very truly & resp^{lly}
Y^r hb^{le} s^t

A. Stevenson

Department of State

March 17th 1836 [26]

Sir:

The President having by and with the advice and consent

of the Senate, appointed you Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, I herewith enclose your commission, the receipt of which you will be pleased to acknowledge.

I am, Sir,

Very respectfully

Your obedient servant

John Forsyth

Hon: Roger B. Taney

Baltimore

Maryland

Washington Sept 24th 1836 [27]

My Dear Sir

I was told to-day by Dunlap of George Town that the opposition is making great headway against our friends in Montgomery County, on the report that you have expressed an opinion against the reformers, condemning their attempt to revolutionize the Gov^t of Maryland by an expression of the will of the people through the peaceful medium of a convention called by the majority, and this independently of the Legislature, which whether rightfully or wrongfully is now clearly maimed of its power. If you have not felt yourself called on to take part in this business I should like to know it. I have no right to ask your sentiments on this subject, because I do not know whether in your shape it may not come into your Forum. But if you have not expressed an opinion the public ought to know it.

For my own consideration, I should like to have your views (confidentially) of the mode of conducting my press, so as to bring all the good I can out of the crisis.

In haste

Y^r friend

F. B. Blair

My Dear Sir

[28]

Will you excuse the liberty I venture to take of enquiring as to the state of Mr Barbour's health, and the probability of

the Mississippi Case coming on to day? I do not want to go to the Capitol until 12. unless my attendance upon the Court should be necessary.

With great respect

I am faithf^y

Your ob^t serv^t

H. Clay.

Wash. 1 Feb. 41

Copy made from recollection Jan. 2, 1862 [30]

My Dear Sir

Mr Carroll has given me your message. I expect some friends to-morrow, and as there is no established Etiquette which requires the court to wait on the President on the 1st of January, as a matter of official courtesy, I am sure my Brethren will excuse me for not joining them to morrow.

Very truly yours

R. B. Taney

Mr Justice Wayne

Private

Sunday [31]

Dec. 23^d —

Dr Sir,

I know of no objection to the renomination of Mr Lebrue and accordingly recommend it.

Yours truly

Thomas H. Benton

Private

Sunday [32]

Dr Sir,

I duly appreciate the consideration of the element of *time* in the suppression of the branch drafts, and will confer with you about it. In the meantime, another branch of the same subject begins to press, because the opposition mean to forestall me in our own work, and take the credit of compelling the government to do what you are going to do, that of discouraging small bank

notes. I gave out this (with the reform of the gold currency) as things for which the country would be indebted to this administration. Calhoun means seize the golden prize. Now what I wish is that you should begin with repressing the small notes by *instructions*, and follow it up by law; for which purpose I send you an amendatory resolution to read & return; but I shall not submit it til I see you.

Yours
Benton

Hon. Mr Taney

My dear Sir

[33]

I have great pleasure in sending this my friend Mr Butler, who goes to Washington to join the Cabinet in obedience to the kind wishes of the President & as I was happy to learn with your concurrence. As I know how large a share my personal wishes have had in influencing Mr Butler, to remove a conclusion he had heretofore come to in regard to taking office, I am very anxious that his stay amongst you should be rendered as agreeable to him as possible. To this I know it will give you pleasure to contribute all in your power. I know that you will like him right well in all respects. Allow me to make two suggestions to you. In your able answer you place great & just reliance when the conduct of the bank in curtailing its accommodations & with a view to a pressure upon the money market after the Appointment of the agent; & the President in his Message glances at the same thing. Remember that in the communication from Boston (which may be published) a certain period was fixed for the removal which was before any of their acc^{ts} on the part of the Bank. The object of my suggestion is, that what is said upon this point, may be so worded as to provide as far as possible for contingency to which I allude viz. the publication of the first communication, as by saying that the desire of the President before entertained for an early removal will render information by his conduct of the Bank or something like that. The other is this. The object

of the Nullifier is agitation, without most things could not exist for an hour. From their location, the point most favourable for their object is State rights, or what they please to call State rights. Hence their policy is to compel the President to exert to the full all the vigour there is in the Federal Arm, that they may be enabled to charge him with a desire to increase it & abridge that of the State; and thus play with success upon the peculiar feeling of the South. I would be the last person to advise to the omission of any act, or recommendation which is absolutely necessary to the maintenance of the Federal Government in its just acts only but I am at the same time anxious that those acts & recommendations should be limited by most necessity & that all high toned positions should be avoided as far as practicable. Their old stories have become stale & unprofitable, & we will I trust be too wise to give them fresh hobbies. I have communicated my views upon this point to the President I am happy to think that he concurs in them very fully.

Remember me kindly to your family & believe me to be

Very truly yours

M. Van Buren

To R. B. Taney

Private

Baltimore July 6, 1871 [34]

My Dear Sir

I have this moment your note of yesterday. Mr Mitchell was an Excellent Lawyer and a very fine Speaker, but I cannot say that he was the ablest man at our Bar when Mr Taney came to Baltimore in 1823. At that time Mr Martin, Mr Pinkney, Mr Winder and one or two others were here, not only among the most able at this Bar, but as able as any members of the profession in the country. Mitchell's life towards its close was an unfortunate one. His habits several years preceding his death were very intemperate, so much so as almost to destroy his usefulness. His death indeed was caused directly by intemperance. I am glad to hear that you will soon give

your Life of Taney to the Public. It cannot fail to be read with interest, and will I have no doubt fully vindicate him from the Calumny heaped upon him because of his judgment in the Dred Scott case. As a judge he was not only eminent but in the opinion of many including as I know Mr Clay he was fully Equal to his great predecessor Marshal.

I remain with regard

Your friend & obed^t Servant

Rev. Johnson

Samuel Tyler Esq^r

Georgetown D. C.

Baltimore July 14, 1871 [35]

My Dear Sir,

I have read my remarks at the meeting of the Supreme Court Bar regarding Chief Justice Taney. I do not think that I could improve them, I therefore return them to you unaltered. You are right in supposing that the Johnson to whom Mr Taney refers as being at the Bar when he came to it was my Father, who for many years was a distinguished member of the profession, practicing in the General Court at Annapolis, and in the Court of Appeals. About 1811 he was appointed Chief Justice of the First Judicial District of the State then consisting of Prince George's Charles and Saint Mary's Counties.

And as Chief Justice of that Circuit was a Judge of the Court of Appeals. This Office he continued to hold until the death of Chancellor Kelty when he was appointed to that office, and held the Office until his death in 1824. Upon the death of Chancellor Bland who succeeded him, my Brother John received the appointment, and held it until the Office was abolished by Constitutional provision.

I have your letter of the 13th and will answer it in a few days.

Yours Sincerely

Rev. Johnson

Washington Feb. 22, 1825 [36]

My Dear Sophia

I was very glad to get a letter from you, but am sorry to hear your dear mother & Maria are both sick. I am anxious to see you all again, for I have been very sick ever since I left home. I do not feel as if I should get well until I return. Give my love to Maria & tell her I hope her eyes will soon be well. I hope to be at home about Saturday or Sunday, but do not know certainly when I can get away. Give my love to all.

Your affectionate father

R. B. Taney

EXTRACTS FROM THE CARROLL PAPERS.

(Continued from Vol. XIII, p. 75.)

March 29th 1771 [154]

Dr Charley

I desier'd Mr Deards to write to Mr Browne to keep half the sugar w^h was expected from Philadelphia. He either forgot to doe so or his letter miscaried, for by the inclosed you will see Mr Browne sent all the Sugar to Annapolis. We are without a grain of Loaf sugar, we used Clayed. I therefore desier you will send me two or more loaves by the Bearer. You have the invoice of the Sugar, desier Mr Deards to weigh it, by doing so He will see whether what you Received Corresponds with the Invoice. I send you half the Cheese Browne sent me I think it very good & that it will be Acceptable to you. Will you not want a Beef Ag^t. the Provincially Court? if so let me know on what day you would have it reach Annapolis. The old ground about Davidsons Orchard which is in Wheat looks poorly. Hesson says none of it is spewed out of the ground & th^t it is now shooting very well, if so it may turn out well if it Escapes the Rust, w^h late sowne wheat is most lyable to. We Hear Lynch is Come in, I suppose Mitchell & others may be

also in, if any news send it. Mr Ireland is better but His knees & Ancles are still so weak th^t He Cannot walk without sticks. The English mares Colt is fat & well growne & stands some & strong & will I think be nigh 16 hands High. Send me two knots of Drumlins. My love & Blessing to you Molly & the little one. I am Dr Charley

Y^r mo. Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

April 2^d 1771 [155]

Dr Charley

I have y^{rs} of the 30th & 31st past. I will look out for two Cowes for you But it is my opinion th^t they in a short time will be of as little service as those you have. Care in Milking & feeding is what is wanted. I Can only spare you 4 jobbers two to goe to the Island & two to be with Robert when He goes downe. I Cannot spare Robert untill He Has finished the stone for my Porch which I suppose will be about the last of this month. Timothy & the two negro Masons shall be sent downe when you order I send two Carpenters if you have nothing for th^m to doe but hang up Gates, it is what Young ought to doe, for He is a poor Overseer th^t Cannot do th^t, let Young know what I write & send back the Carpenters as soon as possible for they are much wanted Here. I have had a little Cold since I Came Home it is goeing of. I shall hardly mention the little Girl in my future letters, but I always mean th^t Molly should kiss her for me on the Receit of Every letter & oftener & when she brings us another I believe I shall take my little Darling to myself if Molly can bear it. I understand a meeting is proposed next Saturday about a private inspection, they desier I should attend & I will not disappoint them some few are ag^t it, but I believe it will be Carried. I shall write to Browne about the Sugar. While I was writing this A man Came Here with Horses. I bought you a Pair which I think will answer, they are large and match pretty well, they will answer yr. Present want, the oldest is 9 the youngest 6 years

old. I tryed th^m in my Chair the Oldest is inclined to Pace, but may be brought to a good trot, the youngest trots well & is a fine Horse, they Cost \$40 & are Cheap for the wagon & I hope will please. I drew on you for the money. Send up Nimble. My love & Blessing to you & Molly. I am

Y^r Mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

P. S. Pray tell M^r Deards I shall write to him next friday by M^r Ashton who goes downe to give you an opportunity of Makeing y^r Easter, which I hope you will not neglect. Pray desier M^r Deards to send me by Him two Drumlines He may get th^m in some of the stores I want them to Plant out my Lucern the Chalk Lines are too weak & small.

April 5: 1771 [156]

Dr Charley,

I wrote to you last Tuesday by the Carpenters & Jobbers & sent you two Horses wh^h I think will Answer for y^r Chariot. They are at Present low in flesh & Ruf when they Come to have smother Coates & are trimmed I think they will not be thought a despicable Pair, they are stout & strong & at all Events they will answer for the wagon & will not be dear for th^t use. One is Jetter Headed & does not trot at present to match the other but He may Come too by Practice, the other I take to be a likely Horse & very Spirited & worth all most the money I gave for Both. I take th^m to be above 15 hands high. As to the Farmer I want, I would have him to be a middle aged Man. He should be perfect in mowing Reaping thrashing & stacking, understand His spade & manage it well know How to Ditch to Plough well either with Horses or Oxen, know How to Break the latter. If you Could light on one who has Himself Had a farm or at least been foreman any

time on a farm He would Probably turn out to satisfaction, try, if & Redemptioner, to get Him on the terms agreed to by Robert &c, if an Indented servant get Him on the best terms you Can Heeson is so fond of His Bargain, th^t I shall be Plagued to keep Him to His Business, if what He tells we be true, He may do well. But you know all Heesons Geese are Swans. My little schemes here are the Backwardest. I push hard to forward them, I shall sometime next week, plant out nigh two Acres of Lucern, after th^t I shall plant what Layers & Cuttings I have in my Vineyard. I have some Grafting to do, my Espatiars are trimmed and tyed I am dressing & Cropping my Garden. I cannot go on with my Vineyard untill I Can procure Park of which I have no Assurance at Present. I am much pleased with Frost He is Active understands His Business, does not want foresight, is good natured, in short I do not regret Rigge's disappointing me & I think His wife will be as Valuable in Her sphere. I much doubt the success of a Private inspection Here, I Placed great Hopes in Major Hen: Ridgeleys assistance & influence. But I Hear this day th^t He is ag^t it, I shall know the Upshot to-morrow. I am pleased with Mollys letters to her Mama about my little darling. Should the Hearing Come on Between us & Digges it will be Material th^t Johnson should observe th^t I never intended to give up my Commissions to Digges But on the same terms I gave them to my Nephew & D: C: This I insisted on in my first Answer, Altho by the order of the Court (w^h I think an odd one) I did not insist on it in my other Answers; I am Certainly entitled to make those & any other Just Charges, for M^r Digges Cannot in Reason avail Himself of Credits in an Acc^t which He Contests. Think of this—Altho M^r Ireland gains strength it is but slowly. He has been out a little way in a chair twice or thrice since I have been Here. My love & Blessing to you Molly & the little one. I am D^r Charley

Y^r Mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

P. S. Major Ridgeley is to be with me early to morrow morning, I may Possibly Prevail on Him to be for an inspection.

Aprill 12: 1771 [157]

Dr Charley

I have y^{rs} of the 4th & 8th inst. I shall write to Cary by the 1st opportunity to gett you two or three good Cowes & shall not omit to speak to any others in whose way it may be to serve you. The same Hands shall be sent with Gethin who worked with Him last year. Mr Digges's Counsell must not only make but Carry severall very surprising Points in order to His Reaping any advantage by His suit. if there has been a Hearing let me know as shortly as is Consistent with y^r Ease the upshot of it, or what you think will be so, for I suppose no order or Decree is yet made. I wrote to know whether you did not want a fatted steer, you took no notice of it. I Heard by Accident you wanted flour, the wagon shall go downe next week with as much as will last you to the middle of July when new wheat will Come in, w^h I hope will be better than the last, w^h was in these Parts not only Bad but a very short Crop. I shall not Carry to Market much above 600 Bushells. If I Can pick out a good Weather I will send it to you by the Wagon. This Cold Blowing weather Hurts the Wheat & is very disagreeable to my old Carcase Tomorrow I shall Enter into my 70th year. I never designed to Have my little Darling with me unless it was agreeable to Her Mama, it is far from me to gratify myself by anything w^h would give Her Pain: I saw what she wrote to Her mother. There was a meeting last Saturday at E: R: about a private inspection it was very scanty not Exceeding 25, only Mr Hood ag^t it, the meeting was too insignificant to proceed to Business, another Meeting is advertised to be next Monday, I shall attend but Expect no good from it. Major Ridgely Engaged to be wth me early last Saturday Before the Meeting. He did not keep His Word, D: D Has advanced Him a large Sum of Money & no doubt has given Him His lesson,

but this entre nous. I this day saw a N: York Paper of the 8th inst a Vessel thither from Liverpoole in 7 weeks brought th^m news to the 2^d of Febru, the most Materiall is as follows. Spain is to surrender Falklands Island to England Reserving their right by prior possession which is to be submitted to a future disension so th^t there is an end to war for the Present. The Patriots in Parliament declaim loudly & strongly ag^t this Compromise The King of France Has Banished His Parliament. It is said there is a Cessation of Arms between Russia & the Turks & th^t the K: of Prussia has Demanded 1,500,000 of England for Arrears of Subsidies by a Thundering memorial, th^t our K: has orderd the fortified Towns in His Electorate to be put in a state of defence. My love & Blessing to you Molly & the little one. I am D^r Charley

Y^r mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

P. S. My Compliments to Coll Sharpe & tell Him He will oblige me by sparing me A Pint or $\frac{1}{2}$ a Pint of Lucern seeds My compliments to C: C: Bar^r & His Lady tell th^m I sincerely wish th^m Health a good Voyage & safe Return & th^t I hope He will leave me His Racking Crane.

April 14th 1771 [159]

Dear Sir,

You will be surprizd as I have been to receive a Letter from Daniel dated from Philadelphia where he is just arivd from Lisbon, M^r Forrest writing that he came away with his aproba-tion on acc^t of a Violent pain in his breast. I hardly know whether I shall be more uneasy to find his complaint has been so considerable as to justifie the step he has taken, or that it has been occasioned in some degree by a foolish homesickness. M^r Magraw desires me to lett him remain with him untill he comes down, & I shall expect them shortly together: After he has visited all his Relatives, I am determind he shall be fix'd some where for some years where he will be kept to a strict application to business. I must beg leave to refer you to my

Cousin Charles for some particulars relative to the Grand Affair that has been in agitation for a few days past, & shall only say that it is my sincere wish Mr Johnson cou'd have been heard by the whole Province. I never in any part of the World heard a man speak so well, at least to please me so much. At the conclusion his tears his attempt in vain to proceed were more eloquent if possible than his words had been, & provd equally with his Arguments that he spoke from a thorough Conviction of the uprightness & generosity of y^r Conduct and of the ill return you had receiv'd. I desire my Comp^s to Mr Darnall, Mess^r Ireland & Aston, & am Dear S^r with sincere esteem

Y^r very Affectionate Nephew

Daniel Carroll

Aprill 15th 1771 [160]

Dr Charley

I have y^{rs} of yesterday wh^h gives a very full & Satisfactory Acc^t of the Debates in the Cause between us & Digges. As you are Persuaded all imputations injurious to my Character have been fully removed by Mr Johnsons defence I am easy as to any other Consequences. I allways have, I am shure you allways will prefer an unblemished Reputation to any sordid gain but learn from what has happened to me th^t the most upright Conduct Cannot secure you ag^t the most foul mouthed virulent Abuse. Mr Johnsons Behaviour in the Cause I find by what you say was such as to Redound as much to His Credit as to our Justification, interest I am Convinced was the least motive th^t induced Him to exert His abilities, the ingratitude I have met with, the reall regard I am persuaded He has for us, animated all He said. He spoke from his heart such merit ought to meet a suitable reward I therefore desier you will give Him £50 sterling I am persuaded it is more than He would Ask, but it is not more than He deserves, in such Cases a modest man should not be laid under the necessity of Appreciating His Services. You will let me know by the Bearer the

Events of this day. Pray get Mr Johnson to Engage to Pass at least a night with me in His way to Frederick Aug^t Court, I want to Return Him personall thanks for His Service, in the mean time do it for me & present my sincere Service & Compliments to Him. I shall answer Jos: Johnsons letter. If C^{sn} Daniel is still wth you present my kind service to Him & tell him I am very sorry for Dannys Return be the occasion what it will & th^t I hope He will not fail in His Resolution to keep him Closely to Business without it I give Danny up for a lost Child I send you a steer w^h I am told is a fine one next Saturday the Wagon will be downe wth flour & a wether. I am returned from our 2^d meeting at E: R: about a private inspection, 35 or 40 only met, had I not seen it I Could not have Believed the People Here to be so indifferent about a matter which so much Concerns th^m I am tierd & write by Candle-light w^h is troublesome, I should other ways be more full especially as to Mr Johnsons management of our Cause. Pray thank Mr Cooke allso for His Service & I hope so happy an outset will lead Him into very good Business. My love & Blessing to you Molly & my little Darling. I am Dr Charley

Y^r Mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

Wednesday 1/2 hour past 8 o'clock [161]

Dr Papa

As Mr Frost is in a hurry I will not detain him by giving you a particular account of our adversaries reply on Monday. Suffice it to say, that they made a most lame hand of it: their reply rather strenghtned than invalidated Mr Johnson's & Mr Cooke's arguments. A wether will be very acceptable as ours at the quarter are very poor, & we have killed all the fatted ones at the Island. Mutton is very deer, as are all other provisions at market. Molly & the little one are well my love to Mrs. Darnall. I shall communicate y^r letter to Mr Johnson.

I think it a very proper one. Cousin Daniel goes out of town to day, he desires to be respectfully remembered to you. I am

Y^r affectionate Son

Ch. Carroll of Carrollton

P. S. No decree as yet. I do not expect one these three weeks. I dare say it will not be such a one as our adversaries expected before the trial.

THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT AND SQUARES.

McHENRY HOWARD

Some facts in my knowledge about the Washington Monument and the Squares around it are known to few, if any, of the present day, which, with some of my reminiscences, may be found interesting. Born, 26 December, 1838, under the shadow of the Monument, where the Methodist church now stands, I have lived not far from it all my life—except four years with Lee and Stonewall Jackson.

The corner-stone of the Monument was laid 4 July, 1815, Colonel John Eager Howard having given the site out of that part of the patented tract, “Lunn’s Lot,” which was commonly called Howard’s Park. This site so given was a square piece of ground 200 by 200 feet. I have not seen a deed for it; if there is one it is probably at Annapolis, but I have plats of it, and it is shown on Poppleton’s Plan of Baltimore City, made 1818-1822. I have understood that he also offered to sell to the city for \$20,000, in City Stock, not to bear interest for a certain number of years, all the ground between Centre, Madison, Cathedral, and St. Paul streets for a park, but that the city declined the offer because of the expense of enclosing and maintaining it.

After the death of Col. Howard, 12 October, 1827, his real

estate was divided among his six children and two infant grandchildren by Commissioners appointed by the High Court of Chancery of Maryland, the Commissioners having been authorized by Act of Assembly, Chapter 135, passed 26 February, 1828, to lay out streets through the estate. The final decree for the partition was passed by the court on 2 June, 1829, and the proceedings of the Commissioners on which it was passed show that they laid out Charles street 106 feet wide from Centre street to Madison, north and south of the Monument site, and called it Washington Place; Monument street, from Cathedral to St. Paul, they left of the usual width of sixty-six feet.

But under two Acts of Assembly of Maryland, Chapter 168, passed 23 February, 1830, and Chapter 31, passed 25 January, 1831, the same Commissioners were directed to re-divide all the ground between Centre, Madison, Cathedral and St. Paul streets, and to widen Charles street, or Washington Place, from Centre to Madison to 150 feet, and to open Monument street 200 feet in width from Cathedral to St. Paul. Thus the present improved "squares," north and south and east and west of the Monument were, in effect, given by the heirs of John Eager Howard, and not by Col. Howard himself, as commonly supposed. The Commissioners had a plat made by Poppleton, their surveyor (of which I have a copy), showing the four squares intended to be improved and the streets to be paved around them—as they now are, except as to grading and interior shrubbery, fountains and statuary. And they gave the name of Mount Vernon Place to the so-widened Monument street, which many persons erroneously apply to the whole improved area around the Monument, Washington Place being almost forgotten. A water color in possession of The Maryland Historical Society, signed by "R. C. Long 1829" (a prominent architect of that time), shows the Monument—on which the statue of Washington was placed in that year—and my father's house (but not then finished, I think), where the church now stands, and the south square in process of being graded, probably from the excavations for foundations.

Even after the streets alongside were all paved, the Squares remained for many years mere open commons. At first (my memory goes back to about 1845) the lower half of the square between the Monument and Centre street was only utilized as the favorite place for boys to spin tops (a very different way of doing so from the present gentle spinning, the tops of tough wood being then painted in bright colors and spun by leather strings, with the utmost violence, the object being to knock away, dent, or even split each other's tops by the sharp metal pegs), play marbles and other noisy games, pick eggs, etc. All this my friend, R. Curzon Hoffman, whose home was at the southwest corner of Charles and Franklin streets, and other few survivors will well remember. About 1850 the place of these boys' activities was changed to the level Square between the Monument and Cathedral street, where bandy was also a favorite game, played with sticks curving at the end, mostly dogwood from the woods which then came down from the north to Madison street.

Finally, the boys took possession of the square north of the Monument, where townball, forerunner of baseball, was the popular game, the ball being made of long strips cut from old genuine India rubber shoes and wound tightly. The square between the Monument and St. Paul street was never so utilized because it was steep and somewhat rough, and cut by several narrow but deep gullies, the sides of which showed a stiff, oily clay, almost as red as paint.

I think it was after 1850 that these four "Squares," as they were, and still are commonly called, were, one after another, beginning with the south Square, enclosed by high iron railings (now I believe surrounding, in part, the lake in Druid Hill Park(?)), with narrow brick pavements along the sides, and a row of trees was planted along each footwalk, at sides and ends of squares, between it and the cobblestone street, the trees around the south square being ash, around the north Square European Linden, and around both west and east squares maple. And within the railings were simply flat expanses of grass.

In late years (as I now count them) an architect and landscape gardener from Boston, on the invitation of our city authorities, designed the present plan of the squares, by the removal of the iron fencing, the extension of the grounds over the side brick footwalks to the lines of the paved streets (and so taking in the rows of trees), removal of the trees at the ends, which obstructed the view of the Monument, planting of shrubbery and placing of fountains. But the fountain west of the Monument was replaced by one, the gift of the Garrett family, and the bronzes and statues—of George Peabody, Chief Justice Taney, Col. John Eager Howard, and Severn Teackle Wallis—are also separate and successive additions.

I have always thought that this Boston man deserves special credit for his treatment of the south Square, between the Monument and Centre street. He had to deal with a comparatively narrow and, in one sense, flat piece of ground, looked down upon both in the approach from Charles street and from the Monument, and if left entirely or for the most part in low grass, it would appear small, almost mean, and uninteresting. And so he planned it to be filled—unlike the other squares—with high shrubbery, the effect being to almost double to the eye the area of verdure. And the fountain in this square, with the water plashing over instead of being squirted into the air as usual, is artistically most satisfying, my only criticism being that the basin is kept but half filled, marring the effect.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

MONTHLY MEETINGS.

Meeting of February 11, 1918.—The regular monthly meeting of the Society was called to order at 8 p. m., with President Warfield in the chair.

The donations to the cabinet and library were described by the Corresponding Secretary.

Mrs. C. L. Scott was elected an associate member of the Society.

The Recording Secretary stated that three members of the Society had died since the last meeting. These were as follows:

Mr. Jasper M. Berry, Jr., died on January 29th, 1918.

Miss Florence Mackubin, died on February 2d, 1918.

General T. J. Shryock, died on February 3d, 1918.

The following minute, suggested by Mr. Richard H. Spencer, was unanimously adopted:

“In the death of Miss Florence Mackubin, this Society has lost a valued and esteemed member, the State of Maryland a loyal and devoted daughter and the world of art a conscientious and meritorious disciple.”

There being no further business, the meeting then adjourned.

Meeting of March 7, 1918.—The regular monthly meeting of the Society was called to order at 8 p. m. with President Warfield in the chair.

The donations to the library and cabinet were described by the Corresponding Secretary.

The following persons were elected to active membership:

Mr. Arthur Miller Easter

Mrs. Thomas Baxter Gresham

Mr. Charles H. Linville
Mr. Paul H. Miller
Mr. H. G. Evans

The correspondence was read by the Corresponding Secretary.

The Society had the pleasure of listening to a very interesting paper read by Mr. Matthew Page Andrews entitled "The Founders of American Democracy." Major William M. Pegram moved that a vote of thanks be tendered Mr. Andrews for his interesting and instructive address.

The Society then adjourned.

Meeting of April 8, 1918.—The regular monthly meeting of the Society was called to order at 8.15 p. m., with President Warfield in the chair.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, Mr. L. H. Dielman was appointed Secretary *pro tem*.

The following persons were elected to active membership:

Mrs. J. E. Fitzgerald
Mrs. J. Henry Judik
Mr. William Barnie Harris
Rev. Louis O'Donovan

The Corresponding Secretary read a communication from the editor of the *National Geographic Magazine* concerning the "Flag Number" of that periodical.

A letter from B. F. Johnson, of Washington, concerning a scheme of National registration was read and was commented on by several members.

The advisability and propriety of removing some of the old wall cases to the new building was considered and discussed; the consensus of opinion being that it was a matter for the decision of the architects of the new building to pass upon.

The President suggested that as the new building is now practically completed, the various committees concerned should

take steps to arrange for the removal of the possessions of the Society to the new home.

The paper of the evening was then read by the Hon. Edward S. Delaplaine, of Frederick, on "Chief Justice Taney. His Career at the Frederick Bar," which was followed with deep attention.

On motion of Mr. A. C. Trippe, seconded by Dr. Steiner, the thanks of the Society were tendered Mr. Delaplaine for his able and interesting paper.

At the conclusion of the address Mr. Ruxton M. Ridgely spoke on the traditional reason for Mr. Taney's having left Calvert county.

The Society then, at 10.15 o'clock, adjourned.

ANNUAL MEETING

February 11, 1918.

The annual meeting of the society was called to meet tonight at the Home of the Society at 9 p. m., a quorum being present.

Mr. John L. Sanford was selected as presiding officer and George L. Radcliffe served as Secretary of the meeting. The annual election took place. The chairman appointed W. O. Atwood and Dr. C. O'Donovan as tellers of election.

The following letter was then read by the Recording Secretary:

"Baltimore, Jany. 17, 1918.

"Mr. George L. Radcliffe,

"Recording Secretary,

"The Maryland Historical Society.

"Dear Sir:—

"Owing to the withdrawal of Mr. William M. Hayden of his name from nomination as Chairman and member of the Committee on Genealogy and Heraldry, for election at the regular monthly meeting of the Society, on February 11, 1918,

we, the undersigned, active members of The Maryland Historical Society, do hereby nominate in conformity with Article III, Section 9, of the Constitution of the Society, *B. Bernard Browne*, Chairman of said Committee; and *F. Sidney Hayward*, as a member thereof, in the place of Mr. Hayden, who declines to serve.

“ Very truly yours,

(Signed)

“ RICHARD H. SPENCER,

“ W. HALL HARRIS,

“ RICHARD M. DUVAL,

“ HAMMOND J. DUGAN,

“ HENRY J. BERKLEY.”

The Chair thereupon commented on the fact that there were no contests in the election inasmuch as only the requisite number of nominations necessary to fill the respective positions had been nominated and no more. Upon motion made, seconded and duly passed, the Secretary of the meeting, together with the tellers, were directed to cast the ballots in the manner prescribed by the Constitution and By-Laws for the candidates for the respective positions for which they had been nominated. The Secretary of the meeting announced that the ticket prepared by the nominating committee had been unanimously carried. (See page 83.)

President Warfield then spoke as follows:

“ *Ladies and Gentlemen:* The activities of our Society during the year 1917 were greatly curtailed by the United States entering the world war. This action of our country unsettled conditions socially and financially, and has required the patriotic services of our members to aid the Government in preparing for the serious requirements of the hour. The cheerful aid extended by our men and women has demonstrated a high degree of patriotism. We see on every hand an enthusiastic, patriotic spirit. Many of our members promptly

responded to the call to arms and are now in the battle line in France, or in training camps in this country preparing for the front. It is in line with the teachings of the Maryland Historical Society to thus respond to the call to uphold our flag, and to maintain the honor and glory of our country. Maryland's part in this war will increase the work and duties of the Society. It must collect and preserve the records made by Maryland men and women during this crucial period in the history of our State and Nation.

"The new home of the Society, being constructed under the personal direction of the donor, Mrs. Mary Washington Keyser, is nearing completion and will be ready for occupancy this spring. In architectural beauty and stability it comes up to our highest expectations and justifies the confidence we have had in the taste and practical ideas of Mrs. Keyser, who has alone supervised the work. She considers it a task of love and patriotism. This new home will stand not only as a beautiful and enduring memorial to her husband, but a monument to her practical and artistic taste.

"You will be pleased to learn that, notwithstanding the unsettled conditions referred to, our membership has increased and our receipts have made a good showing, being in excess of last year. I will not detain you with further details, the reports of the chairmen of the several standing committees herewith submitted give in detail the results of the activities in their respective lines of duty.

"The next three months will require increased work not only by the Committees, but by all the members, in getting our personal effects into shape and installing them in our new home. May I ask the active co-operation of not only the members of the various Committees selected tonight, but also of each and every member of the Society. The upkeep of our new home and administrative expenses will be increased, and we will have to meet them. I am sure we can rely upon the members of this Society to stand together and aid in raising the necessary funds.

"This is our last meeting in this hallowed building. The spirit of optimism that prevails here tonight is encouraging. Our Society is upon the threshold of new and greater work and usefulness. What is accomplished will depend upon you."

By motion passed unanimously, it was ordered that the President's remarks be spread in full on the minutes.

REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE ATHENAEUM.

The report of the trustees of the Athenaeum was then read by Mr. G. L. Radcliffe in the absence of Mr. J. Appleton Wilson. It was as follows:

"During the past year only the necessary repairs to the property have been made, as it was realized that we are soon to vacate it for our new location. The new building is nearing completion, most of the plastering having been finished and all the exterior work. The former Pratt House has been entirely renovated and painted. It is wired for electric lights and will be heated from the plant in the new building. New floors of quartered oak have recently been laid on the three principal floors, and the main stairway has had its treads and risers renewed in the same manner.

"Presumably the buildings will be ready for occupation in the spring, so that the work of moving the library can proceed during the summer when our rooms are not in such constant use.

"Respectfully submitted,

J. APPLETON WILSON, *Chairman.*

TREASURER'S REPORT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES FOR THE YEAR 1917.

The Treasurer's report was read by Mr. Radcliffe in the absence of the Treasurer. It was as follows:

TREASURER'S REPORT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES FOR THE YEAR 1917.

Cash on hand January 1, 1917..... \$316 63

RECEIPTS:

Current Dues.....	\$ 3,240 00	
Dues in Arrears.....	240 00	
Magazine Sales, Subscriptions, etc.....	162 09	
Investigations and Searches.....	54 25	
Sale of Publications.....	7 30	
Use of Basement.....	567 00	
Income of Peabody Fund.....	863 00	
Income other than Peabody Fund.....	494 00	
Library Committee.....	3 75	
Diploma Account.....	27 00	
	\$ 5,658 39	
Loan from Fidelity Trust Company.....	750 00	
Transferred from Special Guarantee Fund.....	400 00	
		6,808 39
		\$ 7,125 02

EXPENDITURES:

General Expenses.....	\$ 4,460 73	
Investigation and Searches.....	4 75	
Committee on Library.....	377 60	
Magazine Account.....	1,043 83	
Use of Basement.....	78 00	
	\$ 5,964 91	
Loan of 1916 paid.....	750 00	
		6,714 91
		\$ 410 11
Cash on hand January 1, 1918.....	\$ 349 11	
Coupons to be collected.....	61 00	/
		\$ 410 11

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON GALLERY

The report of the committee on the Gallery was read by Mr. Radcliffe, as follows, in the absence of Mr. R. M. Ridgely:

" Baltimore, Jany. 28, 1918.

" Honorable Edwin Warfield, *President*,

" Maryland Historical Society,

" Baltimore.

" Dear Sir:—

" While there has been no regular meeting of the Gallery Committee, I, as Chairman, beg to report the return from the restorer of the Darnall portraits. The cost of restoring these paintings was borne by a member of the Society, and considering their character and condition the most possible was made of them by the restorer.

" As near as can be ascertained the new building will be ready to receive the gallery by next May, before which time many of the paintings should be cleaned before they are rehung. I estimate it will cost at least \$250.00 to move, clean and rehang the paintings in the gallery. Of course, this would not include the restoration of the paintings, although many of them need it badly. The money for this purpose should be forthcoming by next March and I sincerely trust that some provision will be made to raise it."

REPORT OF THE LIBRARY COMMITTEE

The following report from the Library was read by Mr. Radcliffe in the absence of Mr. Edward B. Mathews:

Gentlemen:

The Library Committee begs to report the following additions to the library during the year 1917:

Fifty-one (51) volumes, books and manuscripts have been purchased and four (4) magazines acquired by subscription at the cost of.....	\$	279 90
Forty-four (44) volumes have been bound at a cost of.....		97 70
Total disbursements authorized by the Library Committee amounted to.....	\$	377 60

The Committee would call attention to the receipts by gift of the following:

160 volumes, 365 pamphlets, 230 issues of magazines, 6 photographs, 46 muster rolls, several bills of lading, 2 bronze tablets, 3 autograph letters, 1 assessment list and several pieces of colonial currency.

Items of genealogical interest will be noted in the report of the Committee on Genealogy and Heraldry.

About 7,000 persons consulted 90,000 volumes.

We note here the bequest of Mr. Raphael T. Semmes of two trunks and three boxes of books and typewritten manuscripts, with pencil notes. These will be described in the report of the Genealogical Committee.

A large United States flag was presented to the library by the "Nicholas Ruxton Moore Society, Children of the American Revolution," early in the year.

President Warfield called attention to the fact that the chairman of the Finance Committee had been prevented from submitting his report, but that the substance of what would have been in such report had been incorporated in the report of the Treasurer.

Dr. Bernard C. Steiner on behalf of the Committee on Publication submitted the following report:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION.

Council of the Maryland Historical Society.

Gentlemen:

The Committee on Publication respectfully reports that during the year it has caused to be printed four numbers of the MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, under the editorship of Louis H. Dielman. The magazine has contained articles dealing with various periods of the history of the State, and has rendered a useful service to all students of the history of Maryland, while it has also been a valuable medium for main-

taining the interest of members of the Society. Volume 37 of the Series of the Archives of Maryland, edited by Bernard C. Steiner, Ph. D., appeared in the beginning of November, and contains the Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Province from 1730 to 1732. The Committee secured from the Clerk of the Court of Appeals, the legal custodian of the statutes, the manuscript volumes containing the Acts from 1711 to 1776, and thus was enabled to print for the first time the private laws for the period covered by the volume. We hope to print in Volume 38 these Acts from 1711 to 1730, which have never yet been printed. We were fortunate to discover that a duplicate copy of the laws passed when Maryland was a Royal Province, was contained in the British Public Record Office. Through the courtesy of George J. Dowse, Esq., of London, such of these are now being copied as have not previously been printed. These Acts were passed between the years 1694 and 1698, and the text of them, in Maryland, was lost before the Rev. Thomas Bacon's edition of the Laws appeared in 1765. With the recovery of these statutes we are now able to print in a practically complete form the *corpus juris Provinciale Marylandica*. The value of this series of Archives to all students of American Colonial history is more clearly appreciated with each passing year.

We respectfully propose the adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Magazine Account be credited with the sum of \$81.90 for the cost of printing the annual report of the Society and the list of members, and that the amount be charged to general expenses; and that it be also credited, in accordance with the terms of the deed of gift of the late Mr. George Peabody, and of the resolution of the Society adopted January 3, 1867, with the sum of \$419.50, being one-half of the income for the current year from the investment of the Peabody Fund; and that the magazine account be then closed by appropriate entries in the usual manner.

The receipts and disbursements on magazine account, as

exhibited to this Committee by the Treasurer of the Society, were as follows:

Vol. X:	Cost of printing No. 4 (December number, 1916)...	\$ 146 10
Vol. XI:	Cost of printing No. 1, March, 1917 (including Index)	300 26
	Cost of printing No. 2, June, 1917.....	166 46
	Cost of printing No. 3, September, 1917.....	175 96
		\$ 788 78
	Cost of Editing.....	\$ 150 00
	Cost of Copying.....	40 00
	Cost of Postage and Distribution.....	78 40
	Cost of Commissions on Advertisements..	2 40
		270 80
		\$ 1,059 58

RECEIPTS.

Vol. XI:	From Sales.....	\$ 53 90
	From Subscriptions.....	90 30
	From Advertisements.....	
		144 20
Debit Balance.....		\$ 915 38

DISBURSEMENTS.

Against which is to be credited cost of printing annual report and list of members in March issue, 27 pages at \$2.20 and 15 pages at \$1.50..	\$ 81 90
And one-half the income from the Peabody Fund....	419 50
	501 40
Leaving to be charged off in order to close this account as of December 31, 1917, the sum of.....	\$ 413 98
There is to be added to the amount of the excess of disbursements over receipts above stated.....	915 33
Cost of printing No. 4, the December number.....	184 21
	\$ 1,099 54
Deduct therefrom the amount of the credits above noted.....	501 40
Leaving as the actual cost of Volume XII.....	\$ 598 14

The expenditure of the annual appropriation of \$2,000 for

the publication of the Archives, in accordance with the law passed at the January session of the General Assembly in 1916, was as follows:

Balance on hand December 31, 1916..... \$ 1,935 86

CR.

Received from State Appropriation in 1917.....	2,000 00
Received from Interest on balance in bank.....	30 16
Received from Sales of Archives, etc.....	210 96
	\$ 4,176 97

DR.

Paid for Editing Volume 37.....	\$ 550 00
Paid for Printing Volume 36 (614 pages).....	1,713 25
Paid for Printing Volume 37 (602 pages).....	1,700 00
Paid for Copying Manuscripts.....	172 84
Paid for Sundries, Stationery, etc.....	27 95
	4,114 04

Balance on hand December 31, 1917..... \$ 62 93

The sum of \$62.99 is still due for printing Volume 37.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP

The Secretary stated that the Committee on Membership had not submitted any formal report, but that the following interesting data had been prepared:

The following is the state of the membership of the Society to December 31, 1917:

Honorary	2	Showing an increase of.....	1
Life	5	“ “ “ “	5
Corresponding	52	“ “ “ “	38
Associate	60		
Active	707	A net increase of.....	44

806

Of this number (806) there were 767 paying members. This count is based on the following:

Number on Roll December 31, 1917—Active.....	669
Elected in 1916; paid in 1917.....	9
Elected in 1917.....	53
Transferred from Associate.....	1
	732

Losses by death.....	15	
Resigned.....	6	
Dropped	4	
		25

Total active on roll..... 707

Associate members on roll December 31, 1917.....	55	
Elected 1917.....	7	
Taken from Corresponding List.....	1	
		63

Losses by death.....	1	
Resignations	1	
Dropped	1	
		3

Total Associate on roll..... 60

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON GENEALOGY AND HERALDRY

The following report from the Committee on Genealogy and Heraldry was then read by Mr. Radcliffe, in the absence of Mr. William M. Hayden:

Baltimore, February 4, 1918.

Your Committee on Genealogy and Heraldry would respectfully report as follows:

During the year the index to the first volume of the Record of the First Methodist Church, Baltimore, Md., was made.

Three volumes of the Cathedral Burial Ground Records were copied and several indexes were made to Church records.

The Society was very fortunate in receiving by bequest the genealogical collection of the late Mr. Raphael T. Semmes, of Savannah, Georgia. Aside from Mr. Semmes' notes on the Semmes family there are fifty-four additional books of peneil notes and of typewritten manuscript, of which the first twenty-seven books are alphabetically arranged and Volumes 28 and 29 are extra sheets arranged from "A" to "Z." There are two books on the Thomas Family and the succeeding volumes comprise marriages, tombstone records, notes from Debt Books.

Rent Rolls, Land Records, Wills, Administration Accounts and Inventories, recorded at Annapolis and at the county seats of various counties in Southern and Western Maryland.

Nothing occurred during the year which required the action of your Committee.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ADDRESSES AND LITERARY ENTERTAINMENTS

The following report from the Committee on Addresses and Literary Entertainments was then read by Mr. Radcliffe in the absence of General A. C. Trippe:

Your Committee on Addresses report and append a list of papers read before the Maryland Historical Society at its monthly meetings during 1917:

- Jan. 8—"Biography of the Late John H. B. Latrobe." By Mr. John E. Semmes, Jr., a member of the Society.
- Mar. 12—"Robert Smith and the Navy." By Mr. G. C. Davies, an associate member of the Society.
- April 9—"Old Maryland Clubs." By Daniel R. Randall, Ph.D., a member of the Society.
- May 14—"Unpublished Maryland History from Fulham Palace." By Bernard C. Steiner, Ph. D., a member of the Society.
- June 4—"The Origin and Development of the National Emblem of the United States of America." By Mr. John White Johnston, of Rochester, N. Y.
- Oct. 8—"John H. B. Latrobe and Some of His Contemporaries." By Mr. John E. Semmes, Jr., a member of the Society.
- Nov. 12—Reminiscences by different members.
- Dec. 10—"The Truth About Certain Great Events in Our History and Their Actors, Which Historians Have Overlooked or Avoided. Extracts from the *Baylor Varia*." By General Andrew C. Trippe, a member of the Society.

Before the meeting adjourned President Warfield called attention to the fact that the next annual meeting would doubtless be held in the new home of the Society and he spoke enthusiastically of the widened field of activities of the Society and the bright prospects which awaited it.

There being no other business, the meeting adjourned.

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

INCORPORATED 1843.

OFFICERS.

President,

EDWIN WARFIELD.

Vice-Presidents,

W. HALL HARRIS,

HENRY STOCKBRIDGE,

DECOURCY W. THOM.

Corresponding Secretary,

RICHARD H. SPENCER.

Recording Secretary,

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THE COUNCIL.

THE GENERAL OFFICERS

AND

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RUXTON M. RIDGELY,

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DOUGLAS H. THOMAS.

BENEFACTORS OF THE SOCIETY.

1866.	GEORGE PEABODY, ...	Gift, ...	\$20,000
1892.	J. HENRY STICKNEY, ...	Bequest	1,000
1909.	ISAAC F. NICHOLSON, ...	Gift, ...	1,000
1915.	MENDES COHEN, ...	Bequest, ...	5,000
1916.	ISAAC HENRY FORD, ...	Bequest, ...	1,000
1916.	ISAAC TYSON NORRIS, ...	Gift, ...	1,000
1916.	MRS. MARY WASHINGTON KEYSER,		
	Gift of the H. Irvine Keyser Memorial Building.		

FORM OF LEGACY.

*"I give and bequeath to The Maryland Historical Society the
sum of dollars."*

* Deceased.

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Committee on Publications

SAMUEL K. DENNIS, *Chairman.*
 JOHN M. VINCENT, BERNARD C. STEINER.

LOUIS H. DIELMAN,
Editor.

MARYLAND

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XIII.

SEPTEMBER, 1918.

No. 3.

EARLY SETTLERS OF THE SITE OF HAVRE DE GRACE.

WILLIAM B. MARYE.

The land on which the town of Havre de Grace now stands was laid out for Godfrey Harmer July 19, 1658, and is thus described in the certificate of survey: "lying on the west side of Chesapeake Bay, beginning at a marked chesnut tree upon the point near the mouth of Sasquesahanah River running west and by south down the bay for breadth 100 perches, bounding on the west by a line drawn north and by west from the end of the west and by south line for length 320 perches to a marked oak, on the north by a line drawn east and by north from the said oak unto the said river, on the east with the river, on the south with the said bay, and now laid out for 200 acres." The survey was called "Harmer's Town."

In the same year Harmer surveyed two other tracts in Baltimore county. "Harmer's Swan Town" was laid out for him in partnership with James Robinson April 15, 1658, at the mouth of Swan Creek on the south side, and was the first land surveyed within the limits of what is now Harford county. "Powdersby" was laid out for him at the mouth of Bush river on the west side.

The land called "Powdersby" is described in the original survey as lying "near the mouth of a river called Gunpowder River." Bush River is not mentioned; but a correction is made

in the Rent Roll. This (August 29, 1658) is the first mention of Gunpowder River by its present name. According to the Rent Rolls no lands were surveyed in that river until 1659. "Powdersby" was assigned by Harmer to Nathaniel Stiles some time before 1664, in which year Stiles resurveyed it under the name of "Warrington." It is the land at Lego's Point.

That the point of marsh on Chesapeake Bay between the mouths of Bush River and Gunpowder River marked on the map of the Maryland Geological Survey "Ford Point," but always known among the natives as Fort Point, commemorates by its name the site of an ancient fort, erected not improbably by Oliver Spry and his son-in-law Godfrey Harmer, the Indian trader, is the inference we draw from the old records of the locality. Oliver Spry probably came into Maryland from Virginia (see *Early Va. Immigrants*, Oliver Spry, transported 1639 by Rd. Parsons, Lower Norfolk County; Oliver Spry, transported 1636, by Oliver Spry, Warrisquinoak County). In 1649 or 1650 he came into the Province and settled with Richard Bennett, Esq., and others for mutual security at Town Neck on Severn River (*Patents*, Liber Q, folios 385-386). Augustine Herman was his guest there October 4, 1659 ("Journal of the Dutch Embassy," *Narratives of Early Maryland*, folio 318. Through a defect in the text the name of Spry does not appear, but it is stated that Herman's host was the father-in-law of Godfried Harmer, the Indian trader). A letter dated May 23, 1658, from Oliver Spry to "Mr. Clarke" requests that his warrant for 850 acres be laid out "near my son Godfrid . . . where my son Godfrid shall appoint you" (*Patents*, Liber Q, folio 64). In 1659 three tracts were laid out at the lower end of Gunpowder Neck near the bay in the name of Oliver Spry: "Upper Ollives," "Middle Ollives" and "Ollives." "Samson" surveyed for Thomas Sampson in 1659 and assigned to Oliver Spry, was deeded by Spry to his daughter Mary Harmer, wife of Godfrey Harmer, 1663 (*Land Records Baltimore County*, Liber R. M. No. H. S., folio 4). "Hopewell" and "Chesnut Neck" were laid out for Spry in 1662;

"Hopewell Marsh" in 1667. "Mary's Banks" was surveyed for Godfrey Harmer in 1674; "Harmer's Addition" in 1667. "Island Point" was laid out in 1683 for Mary Stansby, wife of Captain John Stansby and widow of Godfrey Harmer, on the point of land which then ran from where Rickett's Point now is to Spry's Island, and which has since been entirely washed away. All of these lands, which lie adjacent to one another at the foot of Gunpowder Neck, excepting "Upper Ollives," which lies in Bush River, descended to the Maxwell family through Mary Harmer, daughter of Godfrey Harmer, who married (1st) Benjamin Gundry and (2d) Colonel James Maxwell (*Patents*, Liber E. I. No. 4, folio 187). A resurvey of the entire lot was made in 1731 for James Maxwell, eldest son of Colonel Maxwell, and called "Maxwell's Conclusion." In the plot of the resurvey the location of the ancient tracts is shown. In the year 1754 a division of "Maxwell's Conclusion" was made between the three daughters, heirs of James Maxwell, one of whom had married John Day son of Edward, another Benjamin Ricketts and the third Thomas Waltham (*Baltimore County Land Records*, Liber B. B. No. I, folios 303-338). The part assigned to Thomas Waltham et uxor is described as beginning "at the mouth of a gut between two plantations, one called the Old Fort, the other called Frame Point, and running from thence with Chesapeake Bay to the mouth of Gunpowder River, etc." The part assigned to Benjamin Ricketts et uxor is described as beginning "at a locust post . . . standing in a marsh . . . and running thence south and by east 166 perches to Chesapeake Bay, then with said Bay to the mouth of a gut lying between two plantations, one called the Old Fort, the other Frame Point." The courses of the three divisions of "Maxwell's Conclusion" are the same, except for the division lines, as the original courses of the tract, following the bay and the river. The "gut lying between two plantations" is therefore easily located on the plot of the original "Maxwell's Conclusion" as in the centre of a point projecting into Chesapeake

Bay. Comparing the plot of 1731 with the modern map of the Maryland Geological Survey and making allowance for the loss of the land between Rickett's Point and Spry's Island, we observe that the point in question can be no other than Fort Point (Ford Point) and the gut no other than Fort Point Gut which makes up into Monk's Marsh at Fort Point. We have only then to locate "Frame Point" and the site of the "Old Fort Plantation" is determined: The land called "Hopewell Marsh" surveyed for Oliver Spry June 11, 1667, is thus described: "lying on the west side of Chesapeake Bay . . . adjoining to the southward of the now dwelling plantation of the said Oliver Spry, beginning at a marked white oak standing at the end of a marsh and running along the marsh east south east 100 perches by a line drawn from the end of the east south east line and running south south west over the marsh into a point called Frame Point 160 perches to a marked red oak standing by a marsh, from the said red oak by a line drawn and running north north west 100 perches unto the first marked tree containing . . . 50 acres," Referring now to the plot of "Maxwell's Conclusion" on which, as we have already said, the original surveys are marked, we observe the following: that the "now dwelling plantation" of Oliver Spry, mentioned in the survey of "Hopewell Marsh" is the land called "Middle Ollives" laid out in 1659, and that it lies back of Fort Point and evidently includes the hill since known as Whittaker's Hill and the fine spring called Whittaker's Spring which issues below Whittaker's Hill in the midst of Monk's Marsh, the marsh which runs across the neck at this place between the bay and Gunpowder River. And we also observe that the course of the land called "Hopewell Marsh" which runs into Frame Point runs away from Fort Point towards the point now known as Robins Point. We are therefore furnished with the proof that the plantation called "The Old Fort Plantation" lay on the north side of Monk's Marsh behind Fort Point and along Chesapeake Bay including probably Whittaker's Hill and embraces the land which was Oliver Spry's dwelling plantation

in 1667. It seems not improbable that the "old fort" was built by Spry and Harmer at the time of their first settlement in Gunpowder Neck in or not much later than 1659. On November 3, 1668, Richard Windley et uxor conveyed to Oliver Spry "Windley's Forrest" at the head of Gunpowder River (Liber I. R. No. P. P., folio 71) and on November 1, 1670, Godfrey Harmer and Mary his wife "of Baltimore County in Gunpowder River" conveyed to Roger Hill the same tract (Liber I. R. No. P. P., folio 89). Spry therefore died between these dates. In another deed dated August 1, 1670, Harmer calls himself "of Gunpowder River" (Liber I. R. No. P. P., folio 84), and he so described himself in his will February 12, 1673. In all probability the plantation on the bay shore was abandoned shortly after Oliver Spry's decease. In the division of "Maxwell's Conclusion" in 1754, to which we have referred above, the middle division is described as without improvements. This is the division lying immediately north of Monk's Marsh. The uppermost division—that lying about Day's Point in Gunpowder River—is described as the "home plantation." In all likelihood the "Old Fort Plantation" had been abandoned by the family as a place of residence since the death of Oliver Spry. For the name of Fort Point Gut see the will of Samuel Ricketts, Jr., February 14, 1823 (*Harford County Wills*, Liber S. R. No. 1, folio 36): ". . . I do also give unto my son Thomas Ricketts the second division, that is from the line running from the new meadow to Conoway's gut up the bay shore to the mouth of Fort Point Gut, then across to Monks Marsh Gut on Gunpowder River . . . the three above divisions are all known by the name of Maxwells Conclusion. . ."

Godfrey (or Gothofrid) Harmer was an Indian trader ("Augustine Herman's Journal of the Dutch Embassy," *Narratives of Early Maryland*, folio 318). Naturalization papers were granted him in 1661 (*Maryland Archives*, Liber III, folio 430), and we learn that he was formerly "subject to the crowne of Sweeden." The same year he was appointed interpreter of the expedition under Captain John Odber sent

to the Susquehanna Fort to aid the Susquehannough Indians (*Maryland Archives*, Liber III, folio 410). There is little doubt that he was the same man as the Gotfred Hermannson or Harmer, a "Holland servant" and relative of Hindrick Hugen, the Commissary of New Sweden, whom we meet with in the Report of Governor Printz, 1644, whose retention in New Sweden in the event of the recall of his master Hugen, is urged by Governor Printz on account of the fact that the "boy" "knows the savage languages and understands well how to carry on the trade" (*Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware*, folio 106). From the way in which Augustine Herman speaks of Harmer in his Journal (*Narratives of Early Maryland*, folio 319) it is evident that the Dutch and Swedes were well acquainted with the trader. Harmer married Mary Spry, the only child of Oliver Spry and Johanna his wife. It is probable that his first permanent home in Baltimore county was in Gunpowder Neck, where his father-in-law took up land in 1659. The name of Oliver Spry is still preserved in Spry's Island, which was formerly the end of a long point extending into the Bay from where Rickett's Point now is; and a high bank on Gunpowder River between Day's Point and the mouth of Watson's (originally Waterton's) Creek still keeps the name of Mary's Banks given it in 1674 by Godfrey Harmer in honor, no doubt, of his wife Mary.

"Harmer's Town" was assigned by Godfrey Harmer to Thomas Stockett June 30, 1659 (*Patents*, Liber P. L. No. 6, folio 159), less than a year after the taking up of the land. We must, therefore, regard Stockett, and not Harmer, as probably the first white settler on the site of Havre de Grace.

The history of the Stockett family has already been written; but little or no mention is made therein of their lands and first homes in Baltimore County. "Delf" was surveyed for Francis Stockett August 6, 1658, on rights for transporting himself, Thomas and Henry his brothers, and nine servants. This tract lies on the bay between Spesutia Island and the mouth of Bush River or, to speak more exactly, between the mouth of Romney

Creek and a small creek which to this day is called Delf Creek. In recent years the place has always been known as Delf Farm. In its long history the land has had many owners since Stockett took it up; and in the eighteenth century belonged to the Paca family. It seems not improbable that Stockett settled and lived on the tract during his residence in Baltimore County; for it has an excellent harbor on Delf Creek, and even in 1658 he would have had for neighbors in the wilderness Major Samuel Gouldsmith at Gouldsmith's Hall on the bay across the mouth of Delf Creek and Captain George Utie, the brother of Colonel Nathaniel Utie, at the mouth of Romney Creek. Stockett sold the land to Thomas Thurston in 1669 after his emigration to Anne Arundel County. "Delf Island" was laid out for Francis Stockett 4th July, 1661, between "Delf" and the mouth of Romney (then called "Rumley") Creek. It is the land which in later years was known as Taylor's Island. The land called "Rupalta" was surveyed for Henry Stockett June 27, 1661. It is described as "lying on the west side of Susquehanna River, beginning at a small point respecting the lower end of Palmer's Island to the east," and is the land next to "Harmer's Town" above the mouth of the river. It was once known popularly as "Upper Stockett's" (Compare the surveys "The Rich Bottom," surveyed for James Carroll, 1706, and "The Rich Bottom Corrected," surveyed for Richard Johns, 1735). "Bourne" was surveyed for Thomas Stockett June 21, 1661. It lies about mid-way between the mouth of Susquehanna River and the mouth of Swan Creek on the Bay on the little creek once called Bourn Creek. A tract called "The Stopp," laid out for George Yates, March 24, 1679, is described as lying "at the head of the Bay between the lands of Captain Thomas Stockett, beginning at a bounded chesnut oak standing by a branch called Bourns branch, a bounded tree of the land called Bourn, and running up the Bay to a bounded red oak a bounded tree of the land called Harmers Town." So much for the lands possessed by the Stocketts in Baltimore County.

The seventh clause of the treaty made between the Lord

Proprietary and the Susquehannough Indians at Spesutia May 16, 1661, (*Archives* III, folio 421) reads as follows: "That for prevention of mischief that too often happens by misunderstanding and not distinguishing Sasquesahannough from other Indians, the Sasquesahannoughs shall not come ordinarily to any other howse but the howse of Captaine Thomas Stockett or of Jacob Clauson from whence they shall have tickets if they have occasion to come further among the English plantations" The eighth clause of the same treaty reads: "That the Sasquesahannoughs shall send all runawayes of the English down to Captain Thomas Stockett immediately after their arrival at the forte."

That the "howse" of Captain Thomas Stockett mentioned in this treaty stood on the land called "Harmer's Town," the site of Havre de Grace, is hardly to be doubted. This was the only land in Baltimore County which belonged to him at that date. So located, it was absolutely with reference to the Susquehannough Indians, a frontier plantation, as is implied in the language of the treaty.

Captain Thomas Stockett was a justice of the Baltimore County Court 13th September, 1665; he was nominated for Sheriff of Anne Arundel County 13th March, 1665/6 (*Archives*, Liber III, folio 539; *Land Records Baltimore County*, Liber R. M. No. H. S., folio 5). He forsook Baltimore County for Anne Arundel some time between these dates. In 1666 he was High Sheriff of Anne Arundel County (*Archives* III, folio 451).

"Harmer's Town" remained in the Stockett family for almost thirty years. By a deed dated August 13, 1688, Thomas Stockett "son and heir apparent of Thomas Stockett late of Anne Arundel County, gent.," conveys to Jacob Lotten of Cecil County, gent., "all that plantation situate and lying on the west side of a river called Susquehanna River in the county of Baltimore at the mouth of the said river called Point Conquest formerly belonging to the said Thomas Stockett. . . ." (*Baltimore County Land Records*, Liber R. M. No. HS., folio 294). The land conveyed is not called by its tract-name of "Harmer's

Town,” but the description of its bounds tallies exactly with the original survey of “Harmer’s Town,” and the number of acres is the same.

A history of the name of Point Conquest may not be irrelevant at this place, since the present name of the point—Concord Point—is certainly a mere corruption of the ancient name. The oldest record of the name that we have so far been able to find is on Augustine Herman's Map of Maryland, 1670, on which the point making the mouth of Susquehanna River on the west side is plainly marked "Point Conquest." The name also occurs in the proceedings of a Land Commission held in the year 1759 to determine the bounds of "Harmer's Town" (*Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Land Commissions*, Liber H. W. S. No. 4, folio 278). The name is probably much older than 1670,¹ for it is evidently related to that of "Fort

¹It would appear that the larger rivers and the prominent points of land of the head of Chesapeake Bay had been given names by the English prior to the settlement of that part of Maryland. Elk River and North East River are mentioned as early as 1652 (*Archives*, Liber III, folio 277). We have already observed that Gunpowder River is mentioned by name in 1658, before any lands were laid out on its shores. The Manor of Spesutia Island, which was laid out for Colonel Nathaniel Utie July 25, 1658, is thus described: "an island lying near the western shore of Chesapeake Bay near the head of the said Bay formerly called Beare Point but now Spesutia, beginning at the southmost point at a marked oak and bounding on the east by the bay side 375 perches to a point called Beare Point." Bear Point still retains its ancient name. Poole's Island was surveyed under that name for Captain Thomas Morris July 27, 1659; but the name is older than the survey. A tract of land called "Planter's Paradise" laid out for Thomas Cornwallis, Esq., August 29, 1658, is described as "a neck of land lying on the west side of Chesapeake Bay and on the west side of the north branch of a river in the said Bay called Back River, the mouth of the said river lying west from the south end of Pools Island." "Planter's Paradise," it may be of interest to know, lies on Middle River between Sue's Creek and Hog Pen Creek, and is the "land of Cornwallis Mannor" proposed in 1684 by the Delegates for Baltimore County for the site of a town (*Archives*, Liber XIII, folios 26, 86, 112, 139). . . . remained in the Cornwallis family until 1731 (see deed, John Ross, gent., and Charles Carroll of Annapolis, surgeon, to Luke Stansbury, "Planter's Paradise," *Balto. Co. Land Records*, Liber T. B. No. A., folio 94). For the site of the manor see Unpatented Certificate 1199, "Paradise Regained," Tobias Stansbury, 1754.

Conquest," a fort established on Palmer's Island in the year 1643 (*Archives*, Liber IV, folio 275; also same, folios 230, 250, 291, 360, 361). Fort Conquest is mentioned as late as 1664 (*Archives*, Liber III, folio 500).²

It should be remembered that George Alsop, the author of "A Character of the Province of Maryland," was living in Baltimore County as servant to Thomas Stockett in the year 1661 (*Narratives of Early Maryland*, folio 378). The picture of Alsop's master's house stocked with "Fourscore Venisons" (folio 345) is interesting.

Jacob Lotten (or Looton), to whom the heir of Thomas Stockett sold "Harmer's Town" in 1689, was apparently a Dutchman. He was naturalized in 1682 (*Archives*, Liber XIII, folio 79). In the inventory of his estate taken April 9, 1694, we find the item "a pile of old Dutch books." He bought and surveyed no other land in Baltimore County; and all the evidence leads to the conclusion that he settled and lived at "Har-

² The "conquest" implied in the name of Fort Conquest and in that of Point Conquest was possibly the raid made in 1638 on Capt. Wm. Clayborne's trading-post on Palmer's Island by order of Gov. Leonard Calvert (*Archives*, Liber III, folios 76-77; letter of Governor Calvert to Lord Baltimore, 1638, *Narratives of Early Maryland*, folio 154). The order to fortify Palmer's Island on behalf of the Proprietary Government is found in *Archives*, Liber III, folio 134, dated 1643; from which it appears that the fortification of the island was decided upon as a makeshift, because it was deemed inexpedient to send an expedition against the Susquehannoughs, although such an expedition had been contemplated (folio 133). In the treaty made with the Susquehannough Indians in the year 1652 (*Archives*, Liber III, folio 278) we read in the first clause of the treaty: "... that the English Nation shall have all the land lying from Patuxent River unto Palmers Island and from Choptank River to the North East Branch which lyes to the northward of Elke River excepting the Ile of Kent and Palmers Islands which belong to Captain Clayborne. But nevertheless it shall be lawfull for the aforesaid English or Indians to build a howse or ffort for trade or any such like use or occasion at any tyme upon Palmers Island." Under the Protectorate Clayborne had renewed his claim to Kent Island and Palmer's Island. A suspicion lingers that Fort Conquest may have been built, not on Palmer's Island, but on the mainland near Point Conquest. In 1643 the words "at Palmers Ile" would serve to describe any place within a mile or so of the island on the unsettled shores of the river Susquehanna.

mer's Town." He was an Indian trader, and there can be no doubt that he purchased the land at the mouth of Susquehanna River because it was an excellent site for a trading-post. An interesting account of his ways of trading is found in the *Maryland Archives*, from which we quote the following:

From a letter of Colonel Nicholas Greenbury to Lionel Copley, Esq., dated Severn River, July 25, 1692:

"Since my last to your excellency on the 18th instant I was alarmed with a dull piece of paper from Major Thomas ³ to Mr. Ashman,⁴ and so to me, that the Indians had besett Captain Richardsons ⁵ house, as the said Richardson did signify to him by express, which writing from the said Thomas is here enclosed and also a letter to me . . . from the said Richardson to blast the aforementioned report . . . with the cry of a pig the next day I went into the said county . . . whereby I might the readier give your Excellency account of the certainty of affairs with them which is as followeth (Vizt) On Saturday the 16th Captain Maxwell ⁶ took eight men with him and went to Thomas Thurstons ⁷ where he expected to find that

³Major John Thomas.

⁴George Ashman, one of the Justices of Baltimore County Court.

⁵Thomas Richardson, afterwards Surveyor for Baltimore County and Lieutenant Colonel of Militia. He lived on Gunpowder River at its junction with Bird's River.

⁶James Maxwell of Gunpowder River, afterwards Colonel James Maxwell. He was Chief Justice of the County Court and High Sheriff of Baltimore County.

⁷Colonel Thomas Thurston, one time chief military officer of Baltimore County. The inventory of his estate taken April 13, 1693, shows that he traded with the Indians. In 1692 he owned three tracts lying at the head of Bush River, "Strawberry Hill," "Turkey Hill" and "Come by Chance," all situated adjacent to one another between Bynam's Run and James' Run at the intersection of these streams (a plat in the possession of the Harford County Historical Society shows the location of these tracts). Other lands owned by him at that time were in the country which was then unsettled. He styles himself "of Bush River" and there is every reason to believe that he lived at the mouth of Bynam's Run (for further proof see *Chancery Record*, Liber I. R. No. 2, folio 778, deposition of Martin Depost. Lockwood's Point, still so called, lies on the north side the mouth of Bynam's Run on the tract called "Friendship," part of which in 1731 belonged to

party of Indians mentioned in the inclosed from him to me, which came to my hand in their county, but when he came there, found the Indians had hired a guide for one good beaver skin to convey them about sixteen miles to one Mr. Jacob Lootons a Baltimore County Justice, where Captain Maxwell and his party followed them on Sunday morning, and where they found about seventy two Indian men and a hundred women and children, who had eight guns, and all the rest of their men well furnished with bows and arrows at the said Lootons house, and there they found him in his store and full of Indians a dealing with him for goods, having great store of Indian trade therein, which is said to belong to Colonel Wells⁸ and Samuel Groome and that he trades under them, but I find by Captain Maxwell and some of his men that Looton and his wife gave the English a very unwelcome reception for disturbing their trade on their market day as Looton called it: now sr. if these be Lootons friends, and he so well knows them (as Captain Maxwell declares in his letter) 'tis my opinion that he is the fittest man to render your Excellency a true account of their qualifications, which I hope your excellency will call him to account for his misdemeanor, and that he make appear what Indians they are, 'tis believed he never saw these Indians before, and for the sweet profits such traders reap by them, who value not the spoil

James Lee). The plantation of Thomas Thurston was therefore just about sixteen miles from the mouth of Susquehanna River, which could be directly reached from it on foot. Although a Quaker, he seems to have been a man of temper. When in 1692 Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Richardson, recently appointed Chief Ranger for Baltimore County, went to Thurston's house to demand the "magazine," Colonel Thurston made use of "many idle and reproachful words and discourse," saying among other things that the County "could not have a Colonel . . . but must have half a Colonel" (*Archives*, Liber VIII, folio 338). George Fox says in his Journal: "I sent for Thomas Thurston . . . and had a meeting with him to bring the truth over his bad actions" (*Narratives of Early Maryland*, folio 405).

⁸ Colonel George Wells, son of Richard Wells, Esq., of Anne Arundel Co. He married, 1667, Blanche Gouldsmith, daughter of Major Samuel Gouldsmith of Baltimore County. He died in 1696.

of their neighbors if they get the gains; Sir, one Thomas Jones ⁹ of that County was with Captain Maxwell, and speaks something of most Indian tongues, and of some nations as well as the Indians themselves, but could understand very little of these, nor of what Nation they are, but believes them to be a mixt villainous sort of people that rambles up and down to seek who they can devour, and believes they were never at Lootons house before, he living not many miles from him, Looton has bought abundance of them as reported, Jones saw him buy one beaver skin for thirty green apples, and one for thirty ears and nubbins of corn; Sir, these Indians belong to the Frenchman ¹⁰ that I hope is got safe down, who is much inquired after by them, and hope he has made further known of them to your Excellency before this time, Captain Maxwell tells me that he did see in one of their hands such a stick as one of the two was brought to your Excellency with such marks upon it, and feathers tyed to the end, having told him of the two by description to him as I saw them; and doubtless the murders is amongst this very party, one of these Indians presented a bow and arrow at the English at their first coming to Lootons, but was prevented by the rest of his party as a small enclosed paper mentions by Captain Maxwell, and no doubt but the rest of their party would 'a seconded him had they been further from the house, Looton since has conveyed them over Susquehannah River as informed to me; Sir, I have used my endeavors to scan the depth of this matter and will be too tedious to trouble your Excellency with every particular, but hope Mr. Looton will be called before your Excellency to give a more ample account of them, and his heathenish trade on the Sabbath Day: ¹¹ Captain Maxwell and

⁹ Thomas Jones of Bush River. In 1680 he was accused of selling powder and shot to the Indians (*Archives*, Liber xv, folio 312). His lands were on the north-west branch of Bush River now called Otter Creek.

¹⁰ Same Liber, 345, 354, 383, 412.

¹¹ This profanation of the Sabbath Day must soon have been forgotten, for in the year 1693 Looton was elected a vestryman of Spesutia Parish (*Baltimore County Court Proceedings*, Liber F, No. 1 (1691-1693), folio 410). The picture of Mrs. Looton is enhanced by a notice in the Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Liber G. No. I, folio 391, where she is fined for "prophane swearing" in court.

the said Thomas Jones are fit persons to testify against him” (*Archives*, Liber VIII, folio 341-343).

Following the foregoing letter is a letter from Major John Thomas to George Ashman (same Liber, folio 343-344), from which we quote what is relevant to our subject: “I have been up at Captain Richardsons this very day (July 18th, 1692) with sixteen horse, and we were going up to Mr. Thurstons, but I was very well informed that the Indians was gone away up to Susquehannan River, and they were very peaceable and did no body no harm, and very friendly they was. . . .”

On page 345 of the same Book of the Archives we read: “A Frenchman lately come in with a parcell of strange Indians at the head of the Bay and taken up for a spy or party concerned with them in designe of mischief was ordered to be brought before the Board, and by an interpreter examined. . . .” The record of this examination is interesting, but too long and irrelevant to be quoted here. The following information, however, (folio 347) given before the Board relates to our subject:

“Jacob Looton according to summons appears. He is charged and accused for encouraging and inviting foreign Indians to come into this province and trade with him. He saith that they were conducted and brought to him by another Englishman in order to set them over Susquehannah River.”

“Quer how came he to entertain and trade with them without giving notice thereof as he ought to some Majistrate?”

“Ans He dealt with them only for a little corne and about half a dozen matchcoats Captain Maxwell examined saith that he was at the said Jacob Lootons house with a party of men and desired to speak with him the said Looton, but could receive no answer from him but that they were his friends and seemed very angry with him and his men for disturbing of him, it was his market day and there was an Act coming out to prohibit any trade with the Indians, and then nothing was to be done without a license The said Maxwell further saith that the said Lootons wife was also in great passion and turned their horses loose, particularly seeking after the said Maxwells horse, and

immediately went to turn him loose but as it fell out it was another mans, Mr. Thomas Jones called in and examined saith that the said Looton alledged that Captain Browne¹² had brought those Indians down to him, and that was warrant enough for him to walk by. James Frizell examined saith that the said Looton did declare they had three hundred beaver skin and he must have one half of them. Mr. Jones further saith that when the French prisoner first came in there was a rumor of these Indians and he himself went to see the French man, but before he came Captain Richardson had carried him down (i. e. to Saint Mary's), that coming to Mr. Thurstons the woman there told him they were Delaware Indians, whereupon he and the rest of his company concluded to go to Jacob Lootons, where when they came the said Lootons wife came out with her arms abroad crying out hey hoe who are you coming to kill now, and such like discourse Captain Maxwell replied that the great Man brought a large beaver skin, and declared by the interpreter that they presented him with a beaver in expectation of having some corn, after twice saying so the said Looton rose up and the Indian called him fool and gave the skin which he offered Looton to Mr. Jones for as much drink as he could afford for it, which was four bottles and some sugar."

As a result of his conviction of illegal trading Jacob Looton was condemned to forfeit all the furs that might be found in his possession, and did in fact forfeit a quantity (*Archives*, Liber VIII, 348, 369).

Interesting records of a suit brought in the year 1694 against Elizabeth Looton, widow of Jacob Looton, and Thomas Brown by Colonel George Wells of Baltimore County and Samuel Groome of London, merchant, the financiers of Looton's Indian trade, may be read in the *Baltimore County Court Proceedings* for that year (Liber G. No. I, 305-309). It appears that the

¹² Probably Thomas Browne of Baltimore County, founder of the Brown family of "Oakington." As will appear later, Colonel Wells and Samuel Groome, who financed Looton's trade, brought suit, after the death of Looton, against Elizabeth Looton, his widow, and Thomas Brown.

trade was conducted on a considerable scale. The invoice value of a cargo of trading stuff delivered to Looton in the year 1692 amounted to more than a hundred and seventy-six pounds sterling, while the value of another cargo delivered in the year 1693 was more than a hundred and two pounds sterling (Looton, it would appear, continued to trade after the set-back of 1692). Tom-a-hawks, Indian hoes, guns and gun flints, a quantity of fish hooks of all sizes, Jews harps, hawk bells, horse bells, tobacco boxes, beads, knives, Indian coats, gilt rings, a great amount of bright-colored cloth and a large supply of "malt liquor" are listed in the invoice of goods delivered in 1693. In the list of pelts accredited to Looton's account we find a hundred and fifty-three beaver skins, eighty-two raccoon skins, sixty bear skins, six wolf skins, twelve elk and sixty roe buck and doe hides, etc.

"Harmer's Town" was purchased by John Stokes from the heirs of Jacob Looton—John Looton, Jacob Looton and Mary Looton, his children—in the years 1713 and 1714 (*Balto. Co. Land Records*, Liber T. R. No. A, 244, 252, 324). For more than a century and long after the town of Havre de Grace was laid out this land remained in the possession of the Stokes family. The original tract, however, was greatly enlarged by a resurvey and by purchase of adjacent tracts. John Stokes, the founder of the family in Baltimore (now Harford) County, came into the county about the year 1700. He was High Sheriff of Baltimore County and Clerk of the county court, an office which was afterwards held by his son, Humphrey Wells Stokes. He was also an officer of the county militia. He was a relative of Philip Key of Charles County (see will of Colonel John Stokes, 1727). He married Susanna Wells, a daughter of Colonel George Wells.

A word in conclusion about Susquehanna Ferry: Elizabeth Looton, widow of Jacob Looton, married William York (*Balto. Co. Court Proceedings*, Liber G. No. I, folio 469; see also Rent Roll, Balto. Co., Md. Hist. Soc., "Harmer's Town" . . . now in the possession of William York for the orphans of Jacob

Loton"). From the County Court Proceedings, Liber G. No. I, November Court, 1695 (folio 540) we quote the following: "By his Excellency the Governor and Council, October 7th, 1695: came and appeared in council Jacob Young and William York living upon Susquehanna River and it being proposed to them in council the keeping a ferry and ordinary upon each side of the said river, William York on this side the river and Jacob Young on the other side, for which is settled upon them one shilling and six pence for the passage of horse and man and one shilling for a footman, to which they both agree, etc." The same year the Baltimore County Court grants license to William York to keep an ordinary on the south side Susquehanna River and the ferry also (same Liber, folio 391). In 1724 the ferry over Susquehanna River was granted to John Stokes (*Balto. Co. Court Proceedings*, Liber I. S. No. T. W. 4, folio 37). In 1737 it was granted to Humphrey Wells Stokes, who says in his petition: "the place where your petitioner purposes to keep it at being the old ancient place of ferrying and where the main road directly leads to and both nearer in riding and in ferrying across the river that your petitioner conceives it the most proper place" (*Balto. Co. Court Proceedings*, Liber H. W. S. No. I. A. 2, folio 143). In the will of Colonel John Stokes, 1727, the testator leaves to his son George "all that tract called Harmers Towne or commonly called the Ferry with the benefit of the resurvey thereon." (Humphrey Wells Stokes and George Stokes exchanged the lands left them in their father's will, George Stokes taking the lands on the bay which had fallen to his mother from her father Colonel Wells, and Humphrey Wells Stokes taking the lands at the mouth of Susquehanna River.) A little tract of $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres surveyed for Robert Stokes, son and heir of Humphrey Wells Stokes, in 1756, is described as adjoining "Harmer's Town Resurveyed" "one mile above the mouth of Susquehanna River at the old ferry landing." (Unpatented Certificates No. 743; the tract is called "Howell's Deceit"). In 1759 a Land Commission was held to perpetuate the bounds of "Harmer's Town," which then was in the possession of

Rebecca Stokes, widow of Robert Stokes and daughter of Colonel William Young of Baltimore County (*Balto. Co. Court Proceedings*, Liber H. W. S. No. 4, folio 278 et seq.). The depositions taken before this Commission are interesting. The land is described as "situate and lying on Susquehannah Ferry" and is called "Stokes's or the Ferry land or Harman's Town." As settlements advanced up Susquehanna River, beginning about the year 1700, there came into existence an "upper ferry" to which there are numerous references in the Baltimore County Court Proceedings. It would appear that the Baltimore County end of this ferry was where Lapidum now is at the mouth of Rock Run.

PULASKI'S LEGION.

RICHARD HENRY SPENCER.

Everything connected with the War of the Revolution is interesting to all Americans, but Pulaski's Legion, which fought over many a bravely contested battle-field, has a peculiar charm for Marylanders, for the intrepid commander himself called it "My legion, Maryland legion."

The struggle of the thirteen colonies of North America in 1776, for their independence from the mother country, brought to our shores many lovers of liberty and freedom, who offered their services to the United States, among them the gallant Poles Count Casimir Pulaski and Thaddeus Kosciuszko, just from their own struggles in defense of the liberties of their native land; Baron von Steuben, Baron De Kalb, and the Marquis de La Fayette. They all came to our country to battle for the right and to aid us to gain our independence. Their military services are deeply enshrined in our hearts, and their names are forever linked with the land they helped to free.

Casimir Pulaski was born in Podolia, Poland, March 4, 1748, the son of Count Joseph Pulaski, who in 1768 formed the cele-

brated Confederation of Bar for the preservation of the liberties of Poland. In 1769 the young patriot joined his father and two brothers and enthusiastically participated in the national struggle against the despotism of King Stanislaus Augustus, but which finally resulted in the dismemberment of Poland. Being outlawed and deprived of his estates, he escaped to Turkey in 1772, and proceeded to France in 1775, where he made the acquaintance of Benjamin Franklin and offered his services to the cause of American Independence. Arriving in Philadelphia in the spring of 1777, he joined the army as a volunteer; distinguished himself at the Battle of the Brandywine, and four days later (September 15) was appointed by the Continental Congress brigadier general and given command of the cavalry. He took part in the Battle of Germantown October 4, and in March, 1778, having resigned his command, in a letter to Congress he suggested the formation of an independent corps, which was approved by General Washington.

The Continental Congress, on March 28, 1778, after the letter from Count Casimir Pulaski had been read, passed the following resolution:

“Resolved. That Count Pulaski retain his rank of brigadier in the army of the United States, and that he raise and have the command of an independent corps to consist of sixty-eight horse, and two hundred foot, the horse to be armed with lances, and the foot equipped in the manner of light infantry; the corps to be raised in such way and composed of such men as General Washington shall think expedient and proper, etc.”¹

This corps was afterwards known as Pulaski's Legion, officered principally by foreigners, and which rendered important services in the War of the Revolution, especially in the Southern campaigns.

In April, 1778, General Pulaski came to Baltimore and

¹ *Journals of The Continental Congress, 1778, vol. x, p. 291.*

opened a recruiting office, notice of which was duly published in *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Tuesday, April 14, 1778, as follows:

“ April 13, 1778.

“ Congress having resolved to raise a Corps, consisting of Infantry and Cavalry, to be commanded by General Count Pulaski, all those who desire to distinguish themselves in the service of their country, are invited to enlist in that corps, which is established on the same principles as the Roman Legions were. The frequent opportunities which the nature of the service of that corps will offer to the enterprising, brave and vigilant soldiers, who shall serve in it, are motives which ought to influence those who are qualified for admission into it, to prefer it to other corps not so immediately destined to harrass the enemy; and the many captures which will infallibly be made, must indemnify the Legionary soldiers for the hardships they must sustain, and the inconsiderable sum given for bounty, the term for their service being no longer than one year from the time that the corps shall be completed. Their dress is calculated to give a martial appearance, and to secure the soldier against the inclemency of the weather and season. The time for action approaching, those, who desire to have an opportunity of distinguishing themselves in that corps, are requested to apply to Mr. de Sequid (de Segond), Captain of Pulaski's Legion, at Mrs. Ross's house.”²

In the months of April, May, June, and July, 1778, the gallant Pole mainly organized and disciplined in Baltimore an

² Mrs. Ross' boarding house occupied the upper floors of the former residence of Dr. John Stevenson, on the south side of Market (now Baltimore) Street, between Light and Calvert Streets, corner of Public Alley (now Grant Street), where the *Baltimore News Building* stood before the great fire of 1904.

independent corps of three companies of horse, armed with lances, and three companies of infantry, a total of three hundred and thirty, of which twenty-eight were from Pennsylvania, and about sixty-two more than was at first proposed.

Just before the legion was ordered to the front, there was a review of it in Baltimore, according to the following item of news in *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Tuesday, August 4, 1778:

“On Wednesday last (July 29th), the Hon. General Count Pulaski, reviewed his Independent Legion in this Town. They made a martial appearance and performed many Manoeuvres in a Manner that reflected the highest Honour on both officers and privates.”

Doubtless the beautiful crimson silk banner, embroidered by the fair hands of the Moravian single sisters of Bethlehem, Pa., and which had been presented to the legion two months before by the patriotic women of Baltimore, fluttered in the breeze from the upright lance on that midsummer day.

According to the Diaries in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem, Pa., on “April 16, 1778, General Pulaski and Colonel Kobatsch (Kowatsch) attend the meeting this afternoon.” And on “May 17. (Sunday), In the English morning service, there were present Samuel Adams, Delegate from Massachusetts and General Pulaski, with some members of his corps, in full dress uniform.”³

In a careful examination of all the diaries at Bethlehem there is not the slightest reference to the presentation of a banner, such as Longfellow narrates in his poem, to be found.

It was during the interval between April 16 and May 17, that the banner was made. “Recent investigations go to show that the General, on visiting the Sisters’ House, saw their beautiful embroidery and that he then ordered them to prepare

³*The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. XIII, pp. 82-83 (1889).

a small cavalry banner for his legion and that the whole transaction was a simple business one.”⁴

In Longfellow's *Complete Poetical Works*, 1893, edited by Horace E. Scudder, in a note to the *Hymn of the Moravian Nuns, at the consecration of Pulaski's Banner*, the editor says: “The historic facts in regard to the banner appear to be that Pulaski ordered it of the Moravian sisters at Bethlehem, who helped to support their house by needlework.”

On September 30, 1778, by a resolution in Congress, General Pulaski, with his legion, was directed to repair to Princeton to wait the orders of General Washington, or the commanding officer in New Jersey.

On October 15, while on the march to Little Egg Harbor, N. J., the enemy attacked the “corps, with 400 Men, at 3 o'clock, A. M., and after a smart Conflict were repulsed and pursued, with considerable loss on the side of the Enemy—and that the Count's Loss was estimated at about 30 Men Killed, Wounded and Missing: amongst the former were Lieut. Col. Baron de Bose and Lieut. de la Borderie.”⁵

In February, 1779, Pulaski was ordered to South Carolina, and later, in the same year he commanded the American and French cavalry at the siege of Savannah and during the attack of October 9, was mortally wounded. Captain Paul Bentalou, one of his officers, was by his side and although himself wounded, attended him until he died two days later on board the United States brig, the *Wasp*, on her way to Charleston, S. C., when his body was reluctantly consigned to a watery grave.⁶

The banner of the legion was most probably used during the rest of the war, as the survivors of the legion were incorporated

⁴ *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2d Series, vol. XI, p. 153 (1880).

⁵ *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Tuesday, October 27, 1778.

⁶ *Pulaski Vindicated*, etc., by Paul Bentalou (anonymous), p. 30 (1824); also, *History of Georgia*, by Charles C. Jones, Jr., LL. D., vol. II, p. 403 (1883).

by a resolution of Congress February 23, 1780, with the corps of Colonel Armand, the Marquis de la Rouerie.

Captain (afterwards Colonel) Bentalou, on retiring from the army, took the banner home with him to Baltimore, together with a lancer's spear and Pulaski's sword cross belt, which had been bequeathed to him by Pulaski just before he died.

For forty-five years he preserved the banner, as he says, "as a holy and glorious inheritance, as a precious relic," but on the memorable visit of General La Fayette to Baltimore, October 7-11, 1824, it was carried by the Forsyth Company of Volunteers, Captain John F. Hoss, attached to the Second Regiment of Maryland Riflemen, on the day of the review of the citizen soldiers of Baltimore by the nation's guest.⁷ After the review it was deposited in the Baltimore Museum, where it remained for twenty years. The ownership of the Museum passed through various hands, but soon after it came into the possession of Mr. Edmund Peale it was presented by him March 6, 1845, through Mr. Brantz Mayer, corresponding secretary, to The Maryland Historical Society.

Colonel Paul Bentalou, who was Captain of the First Troop of Dragoons, in a pamphlet published by him in Baltimore, a few months before his death December 10, 1826, entitled "*Reply to Judge Johnson's Remarks, etc., Relating to Count Pulaski*," page 39, in possession of The Maryland Historical Society, in referring to the banner says: "It was deposited in the Baltimore Museum as 'a relick of old days,' interesting to Baltimore at least, which, when a village, had been the cradle of the legion, and *whose women, with a touch of patriotism, had caused this standard to be made and presented to the young corps.*"

The poet Longfellow has thrown around this banner such a glamour of romance and beauty, that it is to be regretted that it is lacking in historic truth. Including such historical writers as Lossing, Scharf, and others, everyone has been misled by Longfellow's poem written by him in 1825, before he was 19

⁷ *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, October 8, 1824.

years of age, and one year before Bentalou's pamphlet appeared, in thinking that the banner was not only embroidered by the Moravian single sisters (they were not nuns) of Bethlehem, Pa., but also had been presented by them to Pulaski's Legion.

Baltimore has honored the name of Colonel Bentalou, Pulaski's friend and fellow soldier, a man of the very highest character and reputation, and who was United States Marshal for Maryland at the time of his death in 1826, at the age of 91, by naming a street after him in the western part of the city. A noble, brave, and venerable soldier, who long survived his old commander, but who never forgot him.

In a letter to the Council of Maryland, dated Annapolis, the 10th April 1779, Count Pulaski writes: "I Came down to have the honour of presenting my Compliments to you; in the meantime call for your assistance in my recruiting.—I clame Gentelmen for your steem and amity, calling my legion, Maryland legion I'll endeavor myself to have that name forever honoured by our friends and respected by our enemies, and that way reach to the glory whom I and my officers are found off."⁸

The banner is associated with the thoughts and handiwork of the Moravian single sisters of Bethlehem; the inspired hymn of a youthful poet; the patriotic gift of Baltimore women, whose sons doubtless were members of the corps; the romantic valor of the commander of the legion and the heroism of soldiers who died for the cause of liberty and freedom.

ROLL OF PULASKI'S LEGION.

Officers.

Count Casimir Pulaski..... Brigadier General.

Appointed by the Continental Congress, April 18, 1778.

Michael de Kowatz (Kowatsch).... Colonel Commandant.

Count Julius de Mountford..... Major.

John de Zielinski⁹..... Captain Lancers.

⁸ *Maryland Archives*, vol. XXI, p. 34.

⁹ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Vol. x, p. 364.

Appointed by the Continental Congress, October 5, 1778.

Charles Baron de Bose.....	Lieutenant Colonel.
Peter (Paul) Bentalou.....	Captain Dragoons.
Henry Bedkin.....	" "
Jerome Le Brun de Bellecour.....	" Infantry.
James Chevalier de Segond.....	" "
Frederick Paschke.....	" "
Joseph Baldesqui, (Paymaster).....	" "
William Palmer.....	Lieutenant "
John Seydelin.....	" "
James de Bronville.....	" "
Francois de Roth.....	" "
John Stey.....	" Dragoons.
Francois Antoine de Troye.....	" Infantry.
William Welch.....	2 nd Lieutenant "
Joseph de la Borderie.....	" "
George Elton.....	Cornet Dragoons.
Adam Melchoir ¹⁰	"

Appointed by the Continental Congress, December 10, 1778.

Count Kolkowski.....	Captain.
(Served with Pulaski in Poland).	
Charles Frederick Bedaulx ¹¹	Lieutenant Colonel.

Appointed by the Continental Congress, February 1779.

Gérard de St Elme.....	Brevet Major.
Louis Celeron.....	Major.
Mons. Verney ¹²	"

Appointed by the Continental Congress, March 1, 1779.

Mons. O'Neill.....	Captain Infantry.
Baptiste Verdier.....	Lieutenant.

¹⁰ A list of the commissions issued, in the handwriting of Richard Peters, is in the Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 59, Vol. II, folio 123. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Vol. XIII, p. 981.

¹¹ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Vol. XII, p. 1210.

¹² *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Vol. XIII, pp. 143, 215, 238.

Mons. Beaulieu.....	Lieutenant.
Mons. Kerlevan.....	"
Mons. la Close ¹³	"
Baron Charles de Frey ¹⁴	Captain.

A Captain Baitting or Bailling of Pulaski's Legion is mentioned in the Council Correspondence, May 5, 1778.¹⁵

Privates.

Recruits enlisted in Pulaski's Legion in Baltimore.

Edward Donnelly.....	enlisted April 10, 1778
William Rolph.....	" " 22, "
Henry Kent.....	" " " "
Roger Owings.....	" " 27, "
John Collins.....	" " 28, "
Bryan Dallam.....	" " "
John Cain.....	" May 4, "
William Herlity.....	" " 6, "
John Price.....	" " " "
Nicholas Ryland.....	" " 8, "
Thomas Bond.....	" " " "
Peter Neguire.....	" " " "
Thomas Hoult.....	" " 9, "
Charles Daemon.....	" " 10, "
James Carter.....	" " " "
Philip Beatty.....	" " 11, "
John Tedford.....	" " 12, "
William Trugard (deserted).....	" " 22, "
Benjamin Prior.....	" July 1779
Notley Tippet.....	" " "
Joseph Smith ¹⁶	" " "

¹³ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Vol. XIII, p. 263.

¹⁴ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Vol. XV, p. 1139.

¹⁵ *Maryland Archives*, Vol. XXI, pp. 67, 90, 111.

¹⁶ *Maryland Archives*, Vol. 18, pp. 592-593.

John Hooper.....	enlisted	1778
James Murray ¹⁷	"	"

" A return of the Men belonging to the State of Maryland, who served in the First Partisan Legion commanded by Brigadier General Armand de la Rouerie, discharged November 15, 1783.

William Seth (Sergeant).....	enlisted	1778.
Edward Donnelly.....	"	1779.
Peter Teams ¹⁸	"	1778."

Edward Donnelly was formerly a member of Pulaski's Legion, and most probably the other two were also.

First Troop? Dragoons Pulaski's Legion, commanded by late Lieutenant Beaulieu, November 1779.

Earnest Stears.....	enlisted	March 12, 1778.
Ebenezer Riggins.....	"	" 20, "
Andrew George.....	"	" 22, "
Ellias Nowell.....	"	" " "
Jeremie Hoppe.....	"	" " "
John Shaw.....	"	" " "
Patrick Skirt.....	"	" " "
Basile Wheler.....	"	" " "
Robert James.....	"	" 28, "
John Lealand.....	"	" " "
John Lautherback.....	"	" " "
Andrew McCowen.....	"	" " "
Andrew Ollman.....	"	" " "
Joseph Philips.....	"	" " "
Isaac Rollins.....	"	" " "
Hugh Fitz Patrick.....	"	April 10, "
Adam Krauser.....	"	May 8, "
George Ox.....	"	June 1, "
Philip Frederick.....	"	September 1, "

¹⁷ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Vol. XII, p. 916.

¹⁸ *Maryland Archives*, Vol. 18, p. 594.

Godfreid Hesse.....	enlisted Sept. 10, 1778.
Christian Dearling.....	" January 2, 1779.
Gaspard Murson.....	" August 28, "
Joseph Horton.....	" " " "
Joseph Fitz Patrick ¹⁹	" " " "

Muster Roll of the Second Troop of Light Dragoons Pulaski's
Legion, Captain Zielinski, (deceased), now commanded by
Captain Le Brun de Bellecour.

Francis Frainemaker (Sergeant)....	enlisted March 12, 1778.
Joseph Snyder (Corporal).....	" " " "
Martin Miller " (Penn.)..	" " " "
Joseph Sack (Trumpeter).....	" " 20, "
Christian Dilman.....	" May 8, "
Deobert Coop.....	" September 1, "
John Skoop.....	" " " "
Henry Skoop.....	" " " "
Ludwic Leave.....	" April 6, "
Martin Hatkinson.....	" " 13, "
John Poland.....	" May 2, "
Ludwic Spoor (Sergeant).....	" June 11, "
George Thomson.....	" " 15, 1779.
John Ferell.....	" " " "
John Shee.....	" July 1, "
Ludwic Begerhoff.....	" " " "
Godfreid Hesse.....	" " " "
Cornelius Love.....	" November 28, "
Nicolas Masson.....	" " " "
John Hamilton ²⁰ (Waggoner).	

Roll of First Partisan Legion, commanded by Colonel Armand,
Marquis de la Rouerie, July 1782.

Second Troop.

Henry Bedkin, Captain, formerly of Pulaski's Legion.
Baptiste Verdier, Lieutenant, " " " "

¹⁹ *Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, U. S. Rev.*

²⁰ *Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, U. S. Rev., November, 1779.*

Privates. .

Henry Bodwin, Maryland.

Edward Donnelly, " formerly of Pulaski's Legion.

Joseph Follett, "

Third Troop.

Le Brun de Bellecour, Captain, formerly of Pulaski's Legion.

La Hoya de Couterie, Lieutenant.

William Murdoch, Cornet.

Samuel Emerie, Maryland, Sergeant.

James Logman, " Corporal.

William Sept. " "

Privates.

William Bowman. Maryland.

John Brown. "

Thomas Brown. "

Joseph Butler. "

Robert Handwood. "

Joseph Higdon. "

Peter Limer (Waggoner). "

Bazil Lowe. "

Matthias Murray. "

Elisha Steele. "

John Steele. "

John Steel. "

John Thompson.²¹ "

NOTE.—These Marylanders in the Second and Third Troop were doubtless former members of Pulaski's Legion. The Continental Congress, on February 23, 1780, passed the following resolution: "Resolved, That the remains of the legion of the late Count Pulaski be incorporated with the corps of Colonel Armand, Marquis de la Rouerie, etc."

From that date Pulaski's Legion ceased to exist, nearly all of its members having been either killed or wounded in defense

²¹ *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd Series, Vol. XI, pp. 142-150 (1880).

of the liberties of mankind. There are no officers or privates in the First, Fourth, Fifth or Sixth Troop of Armand's First Partisan Legion, mentioned as from Maryland, in July 1782.

Pennsylvanians in Pulaski's Legion.

Henry Bedkin, Captain.
John Shrader, Quartermaster.
Richard Laird, Sergeant.

Privates.

Isaac Andrew.	Martin Miller.
John Bentley.	Peter Miller.
Thomas Bond.	John Myer.
Frederich Boyer.	James Rolls.
Richard Cheney.	Frederich Ruger.
Frederich Cook.	Edward Smith.
William Coram.	John Smith (3rd).
William Furnshield.	Peter Snyder.
Joseph Fogg.	William Sommerlott.
William Formshell.	Henry Walker.
Joseph Gale.	George Ziegler.
Benjamin Johnston.	George Yohe.
John Shuler (Teamster). ²²	

²² *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd Series, Vol. XI, pp. 155-156 (1880).

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE OF OBSERVATION FOR ELIZABETH TOWN DISTRICT
[WASHINGTON COUNTY].

(Continued from Vol. XIII, p. 53.)

Tuesday Jan^y 28th The Committee met according to Adjournment Members present

James Clark in the Chair

Doct^r Woltz

Mr Stydinger

Mr Gull

Captⁿ Link

Mr Graver

Mr Nead

Whereas Mr^s Burgess, William Maffet & Pat^k McCardle have made Complaint to Committee that some men under the Command of Captⁿ Williams, forcibly entered into their Houses, and after violent threats, took from each house a Blanket, which it appears they cannot possibly spare, as such Proceeding are without order and tyrannical it is therefore ordered that Captⁿ Williams immediately deliver the said Blankets to their Respective Owners.

The Committee adjourns till Saturday next at 9 O'Clock.

Thursday Jan^y 30th By Special Order the Committee met at Elizabeth Town Members present

James Clark in the Chair

Doct^r Woltz

Mr Gull

Mr Stydinger

Mr Graver

Captⁿ Linck

Mr Nead

Upon Request of Robert Foard Hugh Gilliland and Henry Foard, setting forth that the Comp^y of Militia in the which they had enroll'd under Denton Jacques, was making no Preparations to march agreeable to orders for that Purpose &c.

Resolved unanimously, that the said Robert Foard, Hugh

Gilliland and Henry Foard, do use their and each of their endeavours to enroll said Company, and have a proper place appoint'd for their Rendezvous, in order to Compleat said Enrollment and choose officers to Command the same, and also to make a Return to this Committee of all Delinquents who shall refuse to comply with s^d orders, to we^h purpose an order has issued to the above named Gentlemen

The Committee adjourns 'till Saturday next at 9 o'clock

Saturday February 1st 1777 The Committee met according to Adjournment. Members present.

James Clark in the Chair

Mr Tho ^s Brooke	Doct ^r Peter Woltz
Capt ⁿ And ^w Lynck	Mr Matt ^s Ridenour
Mr Chris ^r Burket	Mr Baltzer Gull
Mr Nich ^s Smith	Mr Tho ^s Sprigg
Mr Ab ^m Kneff	Mr Fred ^k Stydinger
Mr Jacob Grauer	Mr Daniel Hughes appeared
Mr Matthias Nead	

John Funday was brought before the Committee, charged that he had spoke inimical to the united States, upon Examination of Evidences it appeared that he had express'd such Sentiments when excessive drunk, but before and since that Time had spoke as a friend to the common Cause, therefore ordered that he be discharged upon paying expense of Guards

Richard Acton return'd the summons to him directed the 22nd Jan^y last, duly executed—whereupon the following Persons appear'd and on Interrogation refused to enroll in some Company of Militia, agreeable to the Resolves of the Convention of this State, because employ'd in Denton Jacques's Service and led by his Dictates, who were thereupon fin'd as followeth

	s	D	
viz Robert Clark	fin'd	£10.00..0	paid to Capt ⁿ Linck
Philip Howard	D ^o	10.00..0	paid to D ^o
Archibald Bryson	D ^o	10.00..0	paid to D ^o
Samuel Forsythe	D ^o	10.00..0	paid to D ^o

Viz Evan Guinn	fin'd	10.00..0	paid to	Capt ⁿ Linck
William Matthews	D ^o	10.00..0	paid to	D ^o
William Matthews	D ^o	10.00..0	paid to	D ^o
John Snyder	D ^o	10.00..0		
George James	D ^o	10.00..0		
Joseph Hurst Quaker	D ^o	8.00..0	paid to	Capt ⁿ Linck

Ordered that Richard Acton be authorized and empower'd to collect and receive from John Snyder and George James the fines on them and each of them assess'd, and the same Return to this Committee

Ordered that Captⁿ Linck pay Richard Acton forty shillings for his Services of summoning the several Persons contain'd in an Order of Committee to him directed

Ordered that Captⁿ Andrew Linck pay Doct^r Peter Woltz fifty two shillings for Medicines given Garret Glasson a sick soldier belonging to the flying Camp of this State

On Motion resolved that Abraham Troxall serve as a Committee man in the Room of Maj^r Christian Orindorf who has resign'd having march'd to Camp.

The Committee adjourns 'till Saturday next at 10 o'Clock. By Special Order the Committee met Sunday evening Febr'y 2^d 1777

Members present

Mr Thomas Sprigg in the Chair

Mr Gull

Mr Stydinger

Captⁿ Linck

Doct^r Woltz

Mr Nead

James Clark

John Tedrow a Prisoner in this Town, for passing counterfeit Virginia Money, was brought before Committee, upon Examination confessed that he went to Isaac Shockeyes on tuesday the 21st of Jan'y last tarried there some Days that ^{sd} Shockey agreed to give him the ^{sd} Tedrow 150 Dollars of ^{sd} Counterfeit Money, in order to pass out of which Tedrow was to return one half, but that afterwards ^{sd} Shockey only gave him 78 Dollars, saying

there was no more sign'd, and that the person who sign'd the Money, would sign no more, at that time, because he purpos'd to have it press'd, thinking it not yet compleat, that said Tedrow when pass'd what he had receiv'd, was to repair to s^d Shockey for more, who promised to supply him therewith, and that he the s^d Tedrow might return what he pleas'd in Lieu of the 78 Dollars receiv'd that there was at Shockey's a certain Person dress'd in white Broad-Cloath Coat Jacket and Breeches, with a velvet Cape on Coat, whom he the s^d Tedrow suspected to be the Signer of s^d Money, that s^d Tedrow asked s^d Shockey that Gentleman's name, Shockey replied he knew it not, and that he refus'd to tell his Name to any person, that a certain Christian Hearn was at Shockeys in Company with the aforesaid Gentleman, said he was a Captain, and came on purpose to Recruit.

his
Sign'd John X Tedrow
mark

Upon receiving the aforegoing Confession of John Tedrow it is ordered that a strong Guard be sent to apprehend Isaac Stophel, Felty and Abraham Shockey, and all others whom they may have reason to suspect to be concern'd with the said Counterfeit Virginia money and them or either of them bring before this Committee to answer s^d Charge and likewise to bring all Counterfeit money, Materials thereto belonging, and all fire Arms that may be found in their or either of their possessions.

The Committee adjourns 'till Saturday next at 10 o'Clock

Monday Feby 3^d 1777 By special Order the Committee met at Elizth Town Members present

Mr Thomas Sprigg in the Chair

James Clark

Baltzer Gull

Doct^r Peter Woltz

Fred^k Stydinger

Captⁿ And^w Linck

Matthias Nead

Abraham Kneff

Jacob Grauer

Matthias Ridenour

Christopher Burket

The Guard sent to apprehend the Shockey's return'd, and delivered to Committee the Bodies of Isaac, and Christian Shockey, who on Examination denied the Charge of being privy to, or concern'd with the making and passing Counterfeit Virginia Money. Ordered that the said Shockey's be confin'd in Irons in the Common Goal for this County untill legally discharged therefrom Rec^d from the Guard a Rifle Gun got at Valentine Shockey's mark'd on the Butt W. S.

The Committee adjourns till Saturday next at 9 o'Clock

Tuesday Feby 4th By special order the Committee met at Elizth Town Members present

James Clark in the Chair

Baltzer Gull

Jacob Grauer

Matthias Ridenour

Fred^k Stydinger

Dr Peter Woltz

Matthias Nead

Captⁿ And^w Linck

Philip Reaplogle was brought before Committee, charged with being a Deserter from Captⁿ John Bennets Company of Militia in Colⁿ Stulls Battalion upon Examination acknowledged the Charge Ordered that the said Reaplogle be confined in the Tory Goal for this County untill a proper Guard can be got to march him to Join his respective Company at Camp

John Acton (agreeable to order) was brought before Committee, charg'd with writing & sending a Letter to Isaac Shockey at said Shockey's Request, to the Intent that said Shockey and his Banditti might rescue John Tedrow a Prisoner, (for passing Counterfeit Virginia Money) from the Guard who then had said Tedrow in Custody, upon Examination acknowledged the Charge Therefore ordered that s^d Acton be kept in Irons, close confin'd in the common Goal, untill legally discharg'd therefrom.

The Committee adjourns till Saturday next at 10 o'Clock

Wednesday Feby 5th 1777 The Committee met by special Order Members present

James Clark in the Chair

Abraham Troxall	Dr Peter Woltz
Baltzer Gull	Matthias Nead
Capt ⁿ And ^w Linck	Jacob Grauer

George Berger a Waggoner in Captⁿ William's Company has reported to Committee that part of the Team by him drove is become unfit for service, and are now at Smizer's Tavern near York Town, therefore resolved that the respective owners thereof apply at said Smizers for their respective Properties, that they tender accounts of all Charges to Colⁿ Smith on his Return, or on failure thereof to Committee, or any other legal Body that order may be taken therein.

On Motion resolved unanimously, that no Miller (residing in Washington County) shall chop or Grind or chop any Wheat for any Person or Persons on any Pretense whatsoever for the use of distilling under the Penalty of one hundred Dollars fine and one Months Imprisonment for each and every such Offence, one third of said fine to be given to the Informer making Proof thereof and the remaining two thirds to be apply'd to the Publick Service

The Committee adjourns till Saturday next at 10 o'Clock

Thursday Feby 6th 1777 The Committee, by special order met at Elizabeth Town Members present

James Clark in the Chair

Capt ⁿ And ^w Linck	Dr Peter Woltz
Fred ^k Stydinger	Baltzer Gull
Matthias Nead	Jacob Grauer

Agreeable to order, George Miller, Gasper Snyder Deserters from, and John Solomon Miller and Fred^k Ramer absconders (alias) Delinquents in Captⁿ Bonnets Company, likewise Matthias and Nicholas Roof Deserters from Captⁿ Evan Bakers Company of Militia were brought before Committee, upon Examination acknowledged the separate Charges

Ordered that the said Deserters and Absconders give Bond

with sufficient Security in the Penalty of £1000 each, condition'd that they and each of them shall well and truly appear before Committee, when call'd upon, and march to their respective Companies at Camp, agreeable to order of said Committee

The Committee adjourns 'till Saturday next at 10 o'Clock A. M.

Saturday Feby 8th 1777 The Committee met according to Adjournment Members present

James Clark in the Chair

Doct^r Peter Woltz

Nicholas Smith

Abraham Troxall

Baltzer Gull

Captⁿ And^w Linck

Matthias Riednour

Fred^k Stydinger

Matthias Nead

Ab^m Kneff

Christopher Burket

Ordered that Captⁿ And^w Linck pay William Seitzler the sum of £2..8..9 for boarding and attending Garret Glasson a sick Soldier in the flying Camp of this State.

Henry Knode Sen^r appear'd before Committee agreeable to the Condition of his Bond, upon making it appear to Committee that he had used his utmost Endeavours to apprehend his son Henry Knode Jun^r a Deserter from Captⁿ Farmer's Company, but could not possibly perform the same. on Motion resolved that the said Hen^y Knode Sen^r give Bond with sufficient Security in the Penalty of £1000 Conditioned that he shall well and truly appear before Committee at Elizabeth Town, when call'd upon, and likewise use all possible means to apprehend his said son, and when found, him deliver to Committee, that order may be taken therein

On Motion resolved unanimously that if any Distiller residing in Washington County, shall distill any Wheat, either his own or any other persons Property, untill further order, such Distiller shall pay Two hundred Dollars fine, and be imprisoned for the space of two Months for every such, and each offence, one third of said Fine to be given to the Informer making Proof

thereof, and the remaining two thirds to be apply'd to the Publick Service

Ordered that George Miller, Gasper Snyder, Frederick Ramer, John Solomon Miller, Philip Reaplogle, Nicholas Roof & Matthias Roof and each of them be notified to be and appear before Committee on Monday next ready equipped and forthwith march to join their respective Companies at Camp, agreeable to the Condition of their Bonds

Ordered that Captⁿ And^w Linck pay Edmond Moran ten thillings for two of the Regulors Services in assisting to detect one McCoy an Absentee from Captⁿ Hughes's Company, and likewise £1..8..9 the account of four Regulars for expence and Services in Detecting absenters from Captⁿ Bonnets Company, that said Accounts be respectively charged to said Capt^{ns} Hughes and Bonnet, by them deducted from said Absenters Wages and remitted to Committee

Ordered that Captⁿ Andrew Linck pay Colⁿ Henry Shryock Ten Shillings and six pence for keeping the Gensbergers Horses, and likewise Ten Shillings for five quires of paper furnish'd the Committee, & that the said Gensbergers pay the said 10/6 to the Committee

Ordered that Captⁿ Andrew Linck pay David Harry the sum of £2..12..6 for his services and nine men under his Command in apprehending Isaac and Christian Shockey—and that the Shockeys pay the same to Committee

The Committee adjourns till Saturday next at 9 o'clock

Monday Feby 10th 1777 By special Order the Committee met. Members present

James Clark in the Chair

Dr Peter Woltz

Jacob Grauer

Baltzer Gull

Fred^k Stydinger

Matthias Nead

Matthias Ridenour

Captⁿ And^w Linck

Information being made to Committee that a certain Christian Kearn and James Quigg (alias) Quick residing near Balti-

more are principally concern'd, with the Shockeyes, in making and passing Counterfeit Virginia Money—

Resolved that a Letter be sent to the Committee of Baltimore giving them Intelligence thereof, that they may take Order therein

The Committee adjourns 'till Saturday next at 10 o'Clock

Saturday Feby 15th 1777 The Committee met According to Adjournment Members present

James Clark in the Chair

Dr Peter Woltz	Matthias Ridenour
Capt ⁿ And ^w Linck	Nicholas Smith
Jacob Grauer	Matthias Nead
Fred ^k Stydinger	John Adair
Baltzer Gull	

Whereas W^m Baird Esq^r has march'd to Camp his Seat in Committee being thereby vacated, resolved unanimously that John Adair serve as a Committee man in his Room

Ordered that a summons do Issue for Joseph Rentch to be and appear before Committee on Saturday the 22^d Instant to pay Charges for Services done by Martin Harry and his Command by order of Committee

Ordered that Captⁿ Andrew Linck pay Fred^k Stydinger the sum of £7.. 8.. 6 for 33 Gallons of Liquor furnish'd for the use of Captⁿ Martin Kershners Company of Militia, and five shillings for the Barrel

The Committee adjourns 'till Saturday next at 10 o'Clock

Monday Feby 17th 1777 By Special order the Committee met Members present

James Clark in the Chair

John Adair	Matthias Nead
Capt ⁿ And ^w Linck	Doct ^r Peter Woltz
Baltzer Gull	Fred ^k Stydinger

Captⁿ Abraham Baker came before Committee, it appear'd

upon Examination that he and almost all the Company under his Command had deserted from Colⁿ Smith's Battalion

Resolved unanimously that the said Captⁿ Baker give Bond and sufficient Security in the Penalty of £2000 Conditioned that he shall well and truly appear, and likewise use his utmost Endeavours to have said Deserters and all Enrollers in his Company before Committee on Saturday next, ready equipp'd and forthwith march to the Reinforcement of Gen^l Washington agreeable to the Requisition of Congress

The Committee adjourns 'till Saturday next at 10 o'clock

Saturday Feb^y 22^d 1777 The Committee met according to Adjournment Members present

James Clark in the Chair

Baltzer Gull

Fred^k Stydinger

Nicholas Smith

Matthias Nead

Matthias Ridenour

Abraham Kneff

Abraham Troxal

John Adair

Dr Peter Woltz

Ordered that Captⁿ Andrew Linck pay William Seitzler twenty schillings for boarding and attending Garret Glasson a sick Soldier in the flying Camp of this State

Joseph Rentch appear'd before Committee agreeable to Summons—ordered that, that Matter be postpon'd 'till Saturday next

Martin Harry laid before Committee an Account against the State of Maryland of £16.10 for boarding furnish'd Captⁿ Daniel Clapsaddle's Company in the flying Camp ordered that the same be approved of in order for payment.

Captⁿ Abraham Baker appear'd agreeable to the Condition of his Bond at the same time appeared Adam Myer who forthwith march'd to the Reinforcement of General Washington

Michael Kirkpatrick appear'd before Committee charged that he had damn'd the Congress, General Washington, Colⁿ Shryock and the Committee wished Success to King George &

the Royal Family—it appeared by the Evidence of John Davies, James Garrachan & Richard Broderrick that he had express'd such Sentiments. Ordered that the said Kirkpatrick be confin'd in the Tory Goal of this Town untill he shall give Bond and sufficient Security in the Penalty of £1000—Conditioned that he shall neither say nor do anything against the Interest of the United States during the present Contest between Great Britain and America, and pay a proportionate part of the Expence of Guard &c.

The Committee adjourns 'till Monday next at 2 o'Clock

Monday Feby 24th 1777 The Committee met according to Adjournment Members present

James Clark in the Chair

John Adair	Abraham Kneff
Dr Peter Woltz	Matthias Ridenour
Baltzer Gull	Ab ^m Troxall
Fred ^k Stydinger	

William Scott app^d & took his seat

On motion resolved unanimously that William Scott serve as a Committee man in the Room of Captⁿ Andrew Linck deceas'd

Moyles Reiley was brought before Committee charg'd that he had abus'd Elizabeth Piper and family in her own house near Sharpsburgh during the absence of her Husband at Camp, ordered that the said Reiley be confin'd in the Tory Goal of this Town, untill he shall give Bond and Security in the Penalty of £500 Conditioned that he shall behave quietly and peaceably for the future and pay expence of Guard &c.

On Motion resolved that Letters be sent immediately to the Committees at Reading and McAllister Town informing them that this Committee has receiv'd Intelligence that a Certain Christian Kearn, James Quigg (alias) Quick and Benjⁿ Lewis are Principally concern'd in making & passing the present Counterfeit Virginia money now circulating, that they hold a Lodge near s^d Town, that the Paper of s^d money was made at

the Paper Mill on Schuylkill near Reading Town. That a Letter be likewise sent to the Committee at Chambers Town giving them intelligence that this Committee has been inform'd that a certain Benjⁿ Nugent near s^d Town is concern'd wth the afors^d persons in passing s^d money, that s^d Committees may take order therein and apprehend such Malefactors

The Committee adjourns 'till Saturday next at 10 o'clock

Saturday March 1st 1777 The Committee met according to Adjournment Members present

Mr Thomas Brooke in the Chair

Nicholas Smith

Dr Peter Woltz

Abraham Kneff

William Scott

James Clark

Christopher Burket

Abraham Troxall

Matthias Ridenour

Baltzer Gull

Ordered that Mr Baltzer Gull (in whose hands the publick Money is now deposited) pay Samuel Solomon the sum of 12/6 for his Services & expences in apprehending Delinquents in Captⁿ Abraham Bakers Company of Militia, that the same be chargeable to Captⁿ Baker and by him remitted to this Committee

Ordered that a Strong Guard be sent for said offenders and them bring before Committee to answer said Charge

Whereas Complaint has been made to Committee that Leonard Bilmyer and Peter Lower has been guilty of Distilling and Jacob Hess of Chopping Wheat for the use of Distilling Contrary to the former Resolves of this Committee

Ordered that John Middlecalf, John Knode and Jacob Tecterich be summoned to appear before Committee as Evidences against the above mentioned Bilmyer, Lower and Hess

Ordered that Baltzer Gull pay John Adair 10/6 for three standing Guard over Isaac, Christ^r Shockey, Jn^o Tedrow and Jn^o Acton, the sum of £4.17 that a Rifle belonging to Christ^r Shockey be apprais'd and sold to defray the said Expence

Ordered that Baltzer Gull pay John Adair 10/6 for three Buckets, by him made for use of the Tory Goal

Ordered that Baltzer Gull pay James Clark the sum of £2..13..6 which said sum was advanced by him, to Captⁿ Andrew Linck in behalf of the Publick

Ordered that Baltzer Gull pay John Fackler £2. for his and seven Men's Services in assisting to apprehend John Acton &c living at Green Spring Furnace

The Committee adjourns till Monday next at 1 O'Clock

Monday March the 3^d 1777 The Committee met according to Adjournment Members present

James Clark in the Chair

John Adair

Tho^s Brooke

Ab^m Troxall

Dr Peter Woltz

Mathias Nead

Baltzer Gull

W^m Scott

Fred^k Stydinger

And the committee adjourned forever

Amen

The Committee appointed for Licencing suits met at the House of Martin Harrys on the 18 day of Sep^t 1775 present

Mr James Smith President

Charles Sweringer

Conrod Hogmire

John Rench

John Cellars

Sam^l Hughes

The followg applications were made by

John Swan @ Jn^o Robinson—Trespass on the case. Licence grant^d for a Writ

Dan^l Murphy @ Joseph Helm—a plea of Debt. Licence granted for a Warrant

The Committee adjourns till th 1st Monday in October

Monday Nov 1st 1775

The Committee met according to Adjournment

The following Applications was made

Isaac Cooper @ George Bond sen—a plea of Debt. Licence Granted for a Writ.

Colin Dunlop & Son & Co^y @ Mathias Smithly, Charles Hyatt, Elisha Hyatt, Tho^s Morrow, Thomas Lazune & Nannin Eatele & John Kelty—for Attachments. Licence Granted

Monday 6th Nov^r 1775

Christian, Eakel @ Thomas Morrow—Ordered to give Security and New Bond.

Ordered By the Committee that Bartholmew Caloco give a fresh Note with good Security to John Paige, Executor.

Martain Hover @ Absom Lemaster—Prapspt^r. Licence granted for a write.

Saturday Nov^r 11th 1775

John Stull @ John Adair—Licence Grant^t John Adair for a warrant.

Monday 18 December 1775

Joseph Smith in the Chair

Christian Orendorph

John Rentch

Andrew Rentch

Conrad Hogmire

George Swengle

John Keller

Mick Kiernan @ Thos Nelan.

And^w Miller @ John Ronderbush and Michael Hayes.

Ignatius Innus @ Thos Morrow.

If John Stull will not Bring Suit against John Adair before next meeting Said Adair may have Licence against John Stull.

Sanderson and good @ Mch Menser.

James McClealahan @ Mary Vulgamutt.

Rudolph Souther @ Peter Palmer.

Ignatius Simms @ Thomas Powel.

Thomas Simms @ John Lydny—2 Suits.

Monday Febr^y 19th 1776

Henry Strom @ Jn^o Steel & David Haibsior.

Jn^o Stonesifer @ Andrew Feller.

Frances Kryelich @ Sperling & Aaron Bowman.
 Francis Hardesty @ Issacher Beaves.
 George Bright @ Jacob Barkman.
 Jn^o Obrian @ Hyatt Lazear.
 George Galespie @ Henry Kerr.
 Jacob Millar @ George Dunn.

March 4th 1776

Garrett Stonebraker @ Henry Zeller—Writt.
 Moses Obings @ Harmon Eckle—Writt.
 Mich^l Tom @ Thomas Morrow—Writt.
 Mary Vulgamut @ Henry Zeller—for Writt.
 David Grove @ Abraham Lemaster—for Writt.
 Thomas West @ Jacob Miller—for Warr^t.
 Andrew Mays @ George Galaspie—for Writt.

March the 18th 1776

Ignetius Simms @ John Brunnen—for warr^{ts}.
 George Bright @ John Donelson, Jacob Gaphart, Philip
 Kline—for Warent.
 Joseph Melott, Michel Seister, Benjamin South, William
 Skills.
 John Litte @ George Good—for a Writt.

April 1st 1776 the Committee Meet Acording to Adgorn^t.
 Present—

Mr Joseph Chapline in the Chair

Coll Jn ^o Stull	Mr Geo. Swinger
Cap ^t Jn ^o Cellers	Cap ^t W ^m Hyser
Coll Andrew Rench	Mr Chris ^r Lantz
Mr Jn ^o Rench	Cap ^t James Smith
Cap ^t M. Tackler	

Edmund Rutter @ Thomas Morrow—Warr^t.
 Ignatius Simms @ Arthur Oharrow & W^m Crossley—Warr^t.

The Committee met the 15 of April present

Henry Sryock in the Chear
 Michael Fockler Conrad Hogmire
 William Heyser

George Bright @ Jacob Berkman—ad^t.
 Ja^s Downey @ Tho^s Belt—for Writ.
 Nicholas Smith @ Jacob Hafe—Writ.
 Charles Bell @ Vallentine Messersmith—Writ.
 Mich^l Maxfld @ Jacob Miller—Warr^t.

Monday May 6th 1776

The Committee for Licensing Suits met, according to Adjournment at Sharpsburgh, Members present

Coll Joseph Smith in the Chair
 Coll Samuel Beall Captⁿ Joseph Chaplain

The Committee adjourns to the third Monday of this Instant, being the 20th day.

The Committee Met According To Adjournment & Adjourned To the first monday in June.

The Committee Met According To Adjournment Members Present

Coll Samuel Beall in the Chair
 Maj^r Henry Shirock Joseph Chapline
 Capt Michel Fockler

Phillip Kestoe @ Joseph Wheat—warr^t.
 Nathaniel Nesbott @ Christopher Erden—war^t.
 Nicholas Shaffer @ William Alexander—writt.

Whereas it appears to us on the Oath of A president for Licence that Is Justly indebted to him the Sum of
 and that he delays payment or Giving Security when required you have therefore leave to Issue such process as may recover the Said—Claim against according to the resolves of the Convention in July last by order of the Committee.

The Committee Adjourns till Tomorrow Eight o'Clock.

The Committee Met According To Adjournment—members Present

Coll Samuel Beale Jun^r In the Chair

Maj ^r Henry Shriock	Joseph Chapline
Cap ^t Michel Fockler	Coll Joseph Smith
Cap ^t William Hizer	

The Committee Adjourns till Seven OClock in the Afternoon.

The Committee met according to adjournment, Members present

Col ⁿ Sam ^l Beall Jun ^r in the Chair	
Capt ⁿ Joseph Chapline	Col ⁿ Joseph Smith
Capt ⁿ W ^m Heyser	Capt ⁿ Mich ^l Fockler
Maj ^r Henry Shryock	

The Committee adjourns till the third Monday of June to meet at Sharpsburgh.

The Committee met according to Adjournment. Members present

Col ⁿ Samuel Beall Jun ^r in the Chair	
Col ⁿ Joseph Smith	Capt ⁿ Joseph Chapline
Maj ^r Henry Shryock	

William Blakely @ James McCoy—Writ.
 James Martin agst Michael Hager—warr^t.
 William Blakely agst Andrew Crummy—Writ.

The Committee adjourns till the first Monday in July.

By a Special Order the Committee met the 3^d day of July 1776. Members present

Col ⁿ Jos. Smith in the Chair	
Col ⁿ Sam ^l Beall Jun ^r	Capt ⁿ Mich ^l Fockler
Maj ^r Henry Shryock	Capt ⁿ Joseph Chapline
Capt ⁿ W ^m Heyser	

Geo. Good agst Jam^s Knox—Warrant.
 Ignatius Sims agst Mordecai Medding—warrant.
 Ignatius Sims agst Sam^l Lucket—warrant.
 Hen^y Tootwiler @ Adam Doile—Writ.

The Committee adjourns till the third Monday in July.

By Special Order the Committee met at Elisabeth Town on Thursday the 25th July 1776. Members present

Captⁿ Conrad Hogmire in the Chair
 Maj^r Henry Shryock Captⁿ W^m Heyser
 Captⁿ Mich^l Fockler

John Swan ags^t Isaac Baker—Writ.

The Committee adjourns to the last Monday in this Instant July.

Sep^r 17th 1776 the Committee for Licence of Suit meet. Present

Cap^t M. Fockler in the Chair
 Mr Lodowick Young Mr Jn^o Shryock

Orderd that Coll Rich^d Davis Received the followg Instrument of writting (to witt)

Washinton County Sep^r 17th 1776

Whereas Coll Rich^d Davis Steuart of Chews Farm hath Com-
 plained to us that Sundry Tenents on said Farm refuse to pay
 the rents already due or give Security for the same, such Ten-
 ents are Order'd to Settle said Rents by Bond with security, or
 Otherway we give said Col Davis Power to Distrain for the
 same. Mich^l Fockler.

The Committee was Called on the 18 of October 1776.
 Present Conrad Hogmire in the Chaire Capt. Michael Fockler,
 Ludwick Young, John Schryock.

Richard Geather @ Elisha Hyeard — Evidence Leaken
 Dorsey.

Michael Fockler @ George Frederick Wertzbough and
 George Miller—Everdance Jo^s Schryock.

The Committee met on the 18 Day of Novemb^r 1776.
 Present

Coll Joseph Smith in the Chair
 Ludwick Young Conrad Hogmire
 John Seryock

Joseph Herdey @ George Simm.

Dr Coll Stull Treasurer for Washington County

1776 Dec^r 24

For so much rec^d from the Dunkars & Menonist for their Fines vz.

Christian Newcomer	7..10.. 0	John Good	5.. 0.. 0
Henry Avey	2.. 0.. 0	Christian Hoover	5.. 0.. 0
John & Jacob Hoover	4.. 0.. 0	John Rohrer	10.. 0.. 0
Joseph Bowman	5.. 0.. 0	Jacob Rohrer	10.. 0.. 0
Jacob Root	5.. 0.. 0	Martin Rohrer	10.. 0.. 0
Jacob Stover	5.. 0.. 0	Paul Road	8.. 0.. 0
Adam Shoop	3.. 0.. 0	Jacob Road	5.. 0.. 0
David & Joseph Funk	14.. 0.. 0	Samuel Vulgamet	5.. 0.. 0
Joseph Byerly	5.. 0.. 0	Chrisley Weldy	3.. 0.. 0
Christian Coogle	4.. 0.. 0	Ab ^m Houser & John Bomberger	10.. 0.. 0
Jacob Leshner	4.. 0.. 0	Jacob Hess	7.. 0.. 0
Abraham Miller	5.. 0.. 0	Michael Garber	2.. 0.. 0
Samuel Bachley Jun ^r	7..10.. 0	Jacob Studebaker	3.. 0.. 0
Isaac Bachley	7..10.. 0	David Miller	3.. 0.. 0
Adam Pifer	8.. 0.. 0	Matthias Stauffer	2.. 0.. 0
Abraham Good	5.. 0.. 0	Jacob Coughinour	3.. 0.. 0
Christian Good	5.. 0.. 0	Christian & Jacob Thomas	6.. 0.. 0
John Hoover Jun ^r	2.. 0.. 0		
Olerick Hoover	6.. 0.. 0		
Martin Funk	5.. 0.. 0		
			206..10 0

Colⁿ Stull received from Colⁿ Beall £12 as former Treasurer paid to him by the following persons viz—

Rec^d from John Miller £54 paid to him by the following persons Viz.

Jacob Broombaugh Jun ^r	£3.. 0.. 0	John Washabaugh	5.. 0.. 0
John Broombaugh	3.. 0.. 0	Jacob Huffer	5.. 0.. 0
Abraham Gansinger	3.. 0.. 0	John Bowman	5.. 0.. 0
Christian Shank	5.. 0.. 0	David Miller son of Philip	5.. 0.. 0
Mich ^l Shank	5.. 0.. 0	Jacob Herr	2.. 0.. 0
Abraham Lidey	5.. 0.. 0	Henry Calglessner	3.. 0.. 0
Andrew Postalor	5.. 0.. 0		

Rec^d from Captⁿ Fockler, collected by Captⁿ Heyser from the following Persons Viz. £19..7..6—.

Brought over £291..17..6

Rec^d from John Shryock and by him collected from the following persons viz. £16..10—

John Funk £7.. 10.. 0

Henry Funk Jun^r 6.. 0.. 0

Benjamin Noll 3.. 0.. 0

Christian Hyple p^d Col. Stull 4..0..0

Rec^d from M^r Baird, collected from the following Persons viz.

Christian Coogle £3.. 0.. 0 Henry Keedy 3.. 0.. 0

Jacob Sook Ju^r 5.. 0.. 0 Jacob Thomas 4.. 0.. 0

Samuel Funk 5.. 0.. 0 Michael Thomas 4.. 0.. 0

Henry Funk 5.. 0.. 0 John Micokberger 2.. 0.. 0

Samuel Baker 4.. 0.. 0 Michael Boovey 2.. 0.. 0

In Consequence of a Resolve of the 2^d of January 1777, Frederick Stydinger, Matthias Neid and Andrew Lynch, agreeable to their Appointment have appraised Guns, the Property of the following Persons viz—

				£	s.	d.
Robert Douglass a Rifle Gun appraised	N ^o 1 @	5..15..	0			
Samuel Douglass D ^o	N ^o 2 @	5..18..	0			
Ludwick Young D ^o	N ^o 3 @	5..10..	0			
Hen ^y Hoover non associator a Musket de-						
liv ^d to Capt ⁿ Samuel Hughes	N ^o 4 @	2..10..	0			
John Shryock a Rifle	N ^o 5 @	5..10..	0			
David Gillespie a smooth Gun	N ^o 6 @	3.. 5..	0			
William Baird a smooth Gun	N ^o 7 @	4..12..	0			
George Coll a smooth Gun	N ^o 8 @	2.. 5..	0			
Andrew Branstator a Rifle	N ^o 9 @	5..15..	0			
Martin Ridenour a smooth bore	N ^o 10 @	2..10..	0			
George Ridenour D ^o	N ^o 11 @	3..10..	0			
Peter Brewah D ^o	N ^o 12 @	4.. 0..	0			

John Lee delivered a Rifle Gun owner unknown apprais'd

N^o 13 @ 5..—..—

Henry Miller a smooth bore Gun

N^o 14 @ 3..—..—

George Shultz a Rifle

N^o 15 @ 4..—..—

Captⁿ Andrew Link Dr

For so much rec^d of the Dunkard & Menonist Fines—

Jacob Sook £4..00.. 0

Jacob Line 5..—..—

Peter Thomas 4..—..—

1777 Mr Baltzer Gull To the Committee Dr

Feby 23^d For so much of the Publick money depos-

£ s. d.

ited in his hands formerly in the hands of Capⁿ

Linck 175.. 8.. 9

March 1st To Cash receiv'd from Rob^t Bennet advanced to him by Captⁿ Wallen in

Militia Service —..15.. 0

To Cash remitted by Mr Alder . . —..10.. 0

April 11th To D^o receiv'd for 11^b of Candles . . —.. 1.. 3

23^d To D^o received for four quires of Paper @ 2/6 —..10..—

To D^o receiv'd for four quires of paper —..10..—

1777 Contra Cr

March 1st By Cash paid Samuel Solomon for services in apprehending Absenters in Captⁿ Ab^m Baker's Comp^y 0..12.. 6

By Cash paid the Regulars for stand^g Guard over Isaac Christⁿ Shockey, Jn^o Tedrow and Jn^o Acton . 4..17.. 0

By Cash paid John Adair for 3 Buckets for the Tory Goal . . —..10.. 6

By D^o paid Jam^s Clark by him advanced to Captⁿ Linck . . 2..13.. 6

	By D ^o paid John Fockler for him & 7 Men going as Guard to Green Spring furnace for John Acton &c	2..—..—
	By D ^o paid Mrs Cotz for a Blanket for the use of Capt ⁿ W ^m 's Coy .	1..10.. 0
	By D ^o paid the Butcher for 16 lb. Candles for the Tory house .	1..00.. 0
6 th	By D ^o paid Conrad Jacoby Express to the assembly	5..00.. 0
April 7 th	By D ^o paid J. Clark Clk. of Comm ^{ee} for his Services	12.. 7.. 6
24	By Cash paid Col ⁿ Stull for the Ball. of Cash by him advanc'd more than what he had rec ^d of the publick fines being allow'd the Ad- vance of Virginia Money . . .	17.. 3..10
Feb'y 23 ^d 1777.	The Committee on examining the Publick Money in the hands of Capt ⁿ And ^w Linck and all Ac- counts relative thereto, find a Ballance of 15/6 due, of which they can get no Account.	
1777 April 24 th .	Col ⁿ John Stull this day has remitted to the Treasury by Account the sum of £23 advanc'd to John Leidy and £12 advanc'd to Capt ⁿ Evan Baker and £7..13..6 advanc'd to Fred ^k Stydinger amounting in the whole to £42..13..6.	

EXTRACTS FROM THE CARROLL PAPERS.

(Continued from Vol. XIII, p. 179.)

Sunday morning [161]

Dr Papa

As you must be anxious to hear the result of the counsels arguments & pleadings on each side in the cause with Digges I shall give you a —— & faithful account of them, as faithful & true a one at least as I am able. It may be proper to inform you that the very day this cause was opened, a messenger was sent to Mr Digges with proposals of accomodation. I offered for the sake of peace, & in consideration of Mr Digge's bad state of health, for the ease & quiet of his & your nieces mind (and because I knew it to be your intention) to pay Mr Digges Clifton's bond with interest, each party to pay his own costs. These terms generous as they were now part & advantageous to Mr Digges were rejected by him such is the obstinacy of that mans temper, such his blindness, or so great the hopes his advisers have made him entertain. I am satisfied he will have reason to repent his non acceptance of my offer for I make no doubt upon a fair state & settlem^t of y^r accounts, it will turn out that you have greatly overpaid Mr Digges.

Mr Rogers opened the cause he took to himself the Balt. C^o accts. he taxed you with concerted delays. 3 additional answers extorted from you, and acc^{ts} lodged by degrees & some of them late were brought as a proof of his assertion. The profits of the other parts of Dan: Carroll's estate sunk to the children, at least to the Girls by carrying on the works, were imputed to y^r want of conduct. Some insinuations were thrown out relative to the insurances charged on Iron when it got safe to England, one insurance being made when lost. He contended this was the case in almost every instance. In this the very face of the account shewed him to be wrong, as Insurances are charged, I think, in only three instances.

Y^r Deserter Mr Jennings, seemed to be so conscious of the dirty part he has acted, that he spoke worse than I ever heard him, & least to the purpose of any of our opponents. He could not persuade himself that he was arguing in support of Mr Digges pretentions. the Baltimore company cause was so strong upon his mind, that Mr Digges was little attended to. And what were the weighty arguments brought by this able advocate in defence of his Patron. Why the silly flimsy reasoning of his Patron's answer to y^r bill expressed in worse language & with less art. You have set up a claim ag^t the Comp^y for monies you [expressed?] to be yours: in th^t answer to Digges you say you have commenced a suit ag^t the Comp^y for the benefit of Mr Digges. Here is the great contradiction, the great absurdity He cannot reconcile.

Mr Hall attempted to be witty on accounts: by totally misrepresenting them, he made them ridiculous; he laughed at his own wit & made others laugh. He had plumed himself not a little on a discovery he thought he had made of a capital error in y^r accounts no less a sum than £549.15.0 Gold & 37 years interest thereon. Cousin Daniel, who has been with me ever since thursday, & has been of great service & help, was convinced in the court of Mr Hall's mistake. As soon as we came home he pointed out the error to Mr. Johnson & myself, & shewed where that sum was credited. Unless you had the accounts lodged, it will not be possible for me to explain to you how Mr Hall came to be lead into this error. He was for striking off all commissions, would have no allowance made for y^r trouble, such sums only to be allowed, which were really paid, & for which if, exceeding 40/ you could produce vouchers. I had almost forgot to mention, that Mr Hall represented you as a creator of paper currency, before any paper currency was in existence: his misconception of that matter was clearly evinced by Mr Johnson.

Mr Rogers, Jennings, & Mr Hall took up all the day—yesterday Mr Johnson opened the defence. He spoke four hours. I never heard a man speak more forcibly, more pertinently, more

eloquently. He really was affected & touched with the ingratitude of this whole proceeding: he affected others—many in court could not refrain from tears; two or three left the court unable to conceal their sorrow. Mr Johnson who softened all the hearers, could not resist the tender feelings of his own heart, a sudden flow of grief put an abrupt stop to the most rational, eloquent, & pathetic discourse I ever heard. Even this accident had its effect, perhaps a greater than the most studied conclusion would have had.

It is impossible for me to give you a true Idea of Mr Johnson's manner, or to arrange his argument in that order or with that perspicuity & force which he so eminently displayed—to attempt it would be doing him injustice. Your cause is just—all that could be said in its support was said and with the greatest propriety & strength of reasoning.

I really want words to express the obligations we owe to Mr Johnson. On Friday almost every by stander went away with bad impressions of y^r integrity, or understanding. Yesterday they were all wiped away even our enemies were convinced contrary to the inclination and the impulse of their hearts.

I should not do justice to Mr Cooke, were I not to acknowledge that his help has been very serviceable in the cause: he spoke 2 hours & better in the afternoon: & very pointedly & forcibly on the disbursements, the fairness of the negro purchase, ag^t the necessity of producing vouchers for sums above 40/, ag^t the absurdity of Mr Digge's claim to comp^d interest. He set in a striking & strong light that the general rule, that a trustee cannot be a purchaser, would if extended to every case be productive of great injustice, particularly in the present—where it was evinced that no fraud was either intended or committed.

The Court was exceedingly crowded both days. Tomorrow the adversaries reply, tho' the intervention of one day has given them time to consider of Mr Johnson's & Cooke's arguments, such his their strength, & such the justice of y^r cause, that I trust they cannot fairly answer, or invalidate them.

The Chancellor & his assistant Mr Haywood gave the strictest attention.

Along with this you have Mr John Buchanan's letter to me, cousin Daniel's & one from his son to you. I really I am quite tired. I am

Y^r affectionate Son

Ch. Carroll of Carrollton.

4th May 1771 [162]

Dr Papa

The courses of the land mortgaged to you by Rich^d Shiply are not mentioned in the deed of mortgage, but that deed refers to Hammond's deed to Shiply which I have not got & in which the courses are expressed. Shiply has Hammond's deed to him & consequently his applying to me for the courses is a meer excuse or subterfuge to gain time. Pray press him to make pay^t he is a slippery chap.

The following is an extract of Dan: Carroll's letter of the 3^d instant, which I received the same day. I have just parted with the Governor who spoke to me on the subject (y^r suit with Digges) in the following manner viz^t have you any commands to Annapolis? My compliments to Mr Carroll & his Lady. When will you be up?—soon—I wish the difference between y^r uncle Carroll & Mr Digges could be settled to prevent my giving orders to the Auditors, which will give offence. I answered that it had been my wish & endeavour to bring about an agreement, but it was a matter of so delicate a nature, I did not know how to move in it. He then said that He & Mr Hayward should give their orders according to the best of their judgment, but supposed the *old gentleman* would be upon the *high ropes* & that the orders must be given by the 3^d tuesday in this month the next Chancery court.

The Gov^r had some conversation with Molly on this subject while I was with you—but from what she related, or what passed in that conversation I could not form any precise opinion, however it made an impression that the orders would not be so favourable as we had reason to expect: his subsequent conversation with Daniel confirms my suspicion. God knows what

orders he will give to the Auditors. If he sets aside y^r purchase of the negroes & should order you to account for the value of the original stock & their increase, or order you to pay other negroes of supposed equal value, the order will be an unjust one, & I would appeal from it.

The Gov^r is a very dissipated man—Haywood has the character of an honest man—but I wish it may not become the fashion as formerly to make courts of justice subservient to policy—I would not have you drop the least hint on this subject to any one: we must wait till the decree comes out; we may Judge from its complexion of the motives & grounds on which it is founded.

Monday 6th

I was yesterday at White Hall: Mr Haywood was of the party—he spoke to me about the suit. From what I could gather from his conversation it appears to me that the Gov^r & Mr Haywood both are very desirous of having this suit compromised, partly with a view to save themselves the trouble of going thro' such voluminous papers, & partly to avoid the occasion of giving offence. Mr Haywood told me, he was apprehensive the decree would give offence to both parties: He talked of strict rules of Chancery—in short, altho' the decree is to be given in by the 3^d tuesday of this month, I am sure they are no ways prepared to give it. While Mr Hayward & myself were talking on this subject, the Gov^r came up, & said he must likewise have some conversation with me on the subject: & expressed his desire of having this suit compromised. I told him that we had a real desire of having it settled upon just & honourable terms: that I had offered terms exceedingly generous in my opinion; that they were our ne plus ultra the utmost effort we could make to compromise the difference without doing injustice or reflecting dishonour on ourselves.

Hayward, I believe, is an honest well meaning man—but I confess, I am at a loss to know what they expect from us, what condescensions, what sacrifice of our property, to obtain peace. Peace undoubtedly is a desirable object, but it may be purchased too dear. Upon Digge's paying his part of the costs of

suit, & we ours, I would consent to pay Clifton's bond with interest: this would be giving up a great deal: but as it was y^r original intent, I would still do it, notwithstanding the ungrateful returns you have met with, such generosity will evince the greatest rectitude of intention, & display a superiority of sentiment as well as of understanding over Mr Digges. I would go no farther: we must abide by the consequences: trouble vexation & expense will ensue: but y^r accounts are just; they will bear a strict scrutiny, & will appear the fairer for it, as gold becomes purer by passing oftener thro' the Chymist's fire. I am

Y^r affectionate son

Ch: Carroll of Carrollton

P. S. I expect the Gov^r will speak to me more fully on this subject.

May 7th 1771 [163]

Dr Charley,

The Acc^t you gave me in y^{rs} of the 4th & 6th instant of what passed Between the Gov^r & D: C: & the Gov^r Haywood & y^r self, sufficient shews that Mr Johnsons Arguments have not made the same impression on them as they did on you D: Carroll & other Bystanders, or th^t the force of His Reasoning has been taken off by the Artifice & influence of others. What the Gov^r said to D. C. Vzt. th^t He supposed the *Old Gentleman* would be on the *High ropes* Confirms me in this opinion. He has been told th^t I have not kept measures with any Gov^{rs} or others whose Behaviour has not in my Opinion squared with Justice, if not told so How should He devine it, the fact is true & I shall not fail to shew the same spirit if I find His orders to the Auditors Contrary to Reason & Justice. It is very weak, in the Gov^r or Mr Haywood to talk to you or any one on the Subject, the matter is now solcly before them. But since they by doing so have given you so fair & very Justifiable an opening, I advise you to let them know th^t you perceive Mr Johnsons Arguments have not th^t force with them th^t they had on you & you Believe on all Bystanders th^t one Gentⁿ said th^t were He in my situation as to fortune, He would Have Given £5000

rather than not have brought the matter to a Publick Hearing. That another Considering the Many scandalous Aspersions throwne out ag^t me wished th^t Every man in the Province Could Have been present at the Hearing, th^t for y^r Part it Gave you the greatest Pleasure to Observe the Hearers were so numerous & to see many of them so much Affected. That you are Persuaded th^t the Court, & all in it were Convinced th^t y^r Fathers transactions & Acc^{ts} were not only fair & Honest, but such as became a faithfull trustee & an Affectionate Uncle. That upon a fair & strict settlement of the Acc^{ts} you are Convinced a Very large Ball^{ce} will be due to me. That you had without my Privity or Consent proposed to Pay Cliftons Bond & interest on it, Because you knew it was my intention to do so notwithstanding the Ingratitude & abuse I had met with but th^t I intended Digges should Acknowledge it as an Act of Generosity. If you Have not an Opening given you to say these things in the strongest manner to the Gov^r & Haywood Embrace the first time you see them, you may tell them you doe it in Consequence of what they sayd to you. In the mean time say nothing on the Subject to others, But when the Gov^{rs} order is Publick, if not agreeable to Reason & Justice, say to Every one what I have advised you to say to them, But inculcate strongly & allways th^t upon a Just Settlement of the Acc^{ts} there is a large Ball^a due to me.

May 8th you Did not answer th^t Part of my letter Relating to sending downe Timothy & the Negroe masons; Beside what I wrote to you I want Tim: to Burn my Bricks, nor did you direct when Rob^t & the two negroes who work with Him should Come downe.

I had a good opportunity & I embrace it to Propose to Mr Ireland to move to His owne Plantation, I did it in such a manner, th^t He was Pleased with it, I intend to add to His House there a snug & warme roome for Him. I Have the Elder Riggles in my eye to succeed Him I think I am Secure in getting Him, He is stayed & such a one as I wish to Have.

Last Saturday night y^r English mare foaled a very large

Beautifull Filly finely marked with a fine star & snip & the Two hind feet white.

I shall write Shipley as you desier. Mr McGilly at E: Ridge Landing Has stopt an old Main Roade, wh^h is very prejudiciall to the Forge & Carriage there, I have directed Mr Hammond to Apply to A magistrate for an order to the Overseer of the Highway to open the Roade. He has also shut up the usuall Passage to my warehouse & obliged me to Cut down a steep Bank to make a way to it. He is a Peevish man & at Variance with every man at the Landing. He obtained 3 Ton of Bar from Hammond on a promise to get an order from you to Deliver Him th^t Quantity, the money Has been long due I desiered Mr Hammond to Prove the Acc^t to send it to you to be put in Suit & I desier you will give it to Mr Johnson. Send me the Paper Relating to th^t Lot. I think, you will find them in the Bundle of Certificates in the Eterntorre & if the Courses of the lot be not among those Papers send the Courses of the lot Extracted from Do^r Carrolls deed to me.

May 10th I now Answer y^{rs} of May 7th I Cannot send Timothy you Can get Bricklayers, I Cannot, one of us must Hire, I suppose y^r Job to be as necessary as myne th^t they must both be Carried on immediately, you Can Hire as I sayed, I Cannot. If you Can postpone the Beginning of y^r stable to the last of August I will send Tim: & the Boys. I send down Robert & the two negroes who worked with Him with what Tools He Can Carry. I also send downe Tom the Ditcher, see th^t He does not scower the Ditches too deep, doe th^m so th^t the Water may Run within 12 Inches of the surface of y^r Meadow otherways you will Ruin y^r meadow & next year have no grass, I was forced to make stops in the Ditches to keep the water to A proper Hight, Charge Tom not to Remove them, if He Comes across them. I have also orderd the Girl for the Island. I have not got the money for the wheat, as soon as I receive it you shall Have £120. I Have no Vouchers for Payments made my Brother But such as are indicated by the nature of th^t Acc^t. There are no outstanding Debts due to me & my Brother, I do not Remember any such were Called for by the Bill, no such

List of Course was given in, & I apprehend it is now too late (were there any such debts) to Call for th^m the Creditors can only proceed upon the Acc^{ts} Lodged & before th^m from 1704 to 1750 it may be supposed th^t all Debts were Collected. I wrote as you desiered about Trammell I did not Hear He had got possession of any Part of Carrollton. Rob^t & Daniell lay together, Daniell must Have a Bed, I therefore Cannot send a Bed. You will see by a Copy of Mr Hardings letter to me that He knows nothing of a 2^d Cask of sugar to be sent: you wrote me the sugar Baker Could not at once supply all you wrote for But th^t it was all Charged, Consequently if you Have payed for more than you Received you must set Harding right you Cannot use too much Care in transacting any Business, keeping Copies of y^r Orders & letters & of the letters you Receive tho seemingly of no Consequence.

The Gov^r is shamefully too dissipated, Malbro Races Oxford Races, what time will He Have to Consider our Cause before the 3^d Tuesday in this month. He & M^{rs} Eden promised me a Visit in June, I do not think another formall invitation necessary. You may only let th^m know I expect them. Ask Mr Ogle & His wife, Ridout & His Wife, if M^{rs} Ogle talks of Comeing, you Cannot avoid saying I should be very glad to see Her But you need not Invite Her unless Molly Chuses it. I hope to Hear Molly is quite Recovered, my love & Blessing to you Her & my Dear little Darling. I am Dr Charley

Y^r Mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

P. S. We had a fine Rain yesterday the weather is now seasonable & we are in a Tollerable way, the Planting my Lucern is a Tedious & troublesome Job But I do it well & doubt not it will fully Repay the trouble & Cost. Pray Ask Coll Sharpe to Come & see me & make my Compliments to Him, I think I shall not want His Lucern seed, as the Plants in my Lucern nursery will I Believe more than fill the ground I am Planting. My wheat is everywhere much mended. You will see by Hammonds to me in what a distressed scituation y^r

People are in at the Works, I have wrote to W^m H: th^t I would lend Him 100 Bush^s if He would Fetch it & Replace it, D. D. May again Lie & say the Comp^a Teams . . . Corn from from my Plantations D. Carroll promises to send . . . y^r Corn as soon as Possible.

May 15 1771 [164]

Dr Charley

It was with the greatest Pleasure I Received y^{rs} of yesterday informing me Molly was so much mended & likely to Recover Her Health perfectly so soon: I though I had no Reason to be alarmed, yet I Could not Help being uneasy.

You did very well not to mention to M^r Tho^s Digges anything about the Law Suit, time may get the Better of Nacy's Pride & Punish His Obstinacy.

Now to y^{rs} of the 11th instant inclosing Jo: Dorseys Protest, Papers Relating to our Lot at E: R: Landing, Perkins's letter (w^h I return) accompanied with news Papers, Magazines & a letter from M^r Mills. I approve what you write about the Gov^r & the maner you propose to Behave towards Him. Long who Purchased my wheat payed £45 in part & upon paying the Rest was to have an order on W. Hammond to Deliver it. I shall send to C: Brooke next Saturday & if the Remainder of the money be not payed order Him to Return the £45 & to sell the wheat w^h I hear is at 6/6 or 6/7.

M^r Johnson & I were much Pleased with each other He left me this morning. I spoke to Him about Trammell, if He has got possession of any part of our Land you ought to Have wrote so, I wrote to you I had wrote to Jos: Johnson to prevent it: However M^r Johnson will speak to A friend He Can Confide in to Purchase of Trammell. I did not write to M^r Harding for any Certain Quantity of sugar, presuming upon what you wrote to me th^t there was a Cask of Sugar w^h was purchased, but not Come to hand, Consider & Reflect on what you write. For the Future Endorse all Bills you Remit as follows; Pay the Contents to Mess^{rs} P. B. & B: or order for the use of C: C: of Carrollton, But in a letter to them direct th^m to Carry such

Bills to the Credit of my Acct^t to save the Trouble of Raising an Acct^t with you. The Vine Plants & Cuttings were very well Packed, it is a Pity my orders came so late to Mr Mills, had they arrived sooner I am persuaded I should not have lost one of them, & as it is I am in great Hopes I shall save many of each sort. I have planted out 5 Plants & severall Cuttings of each sort w^h Came up, I shall do so by those I now send for, the Rest I shall put into the ground with the Boxes only takeing out the Bottoms of the Boxes th^t the Roots may have Roome to shoote I understand Edward Osmond is going to England, tell Him I want to see Him before He goes, Prevail on Him to Come to me, I want to Engage Him to Bring me two farmers & a Gardener & to give Him directions Relating to th^m I send you two Barrills of Cyder, a Lamb & some Butter if the Cart Can Carry them. I shall send my Chair to meet Mr^s Darnall at Honers on the Day she shall appoint or the day after, if the day she appoints should prove a Rainy one; Pray give my love & Service to Her. My love & Blessing to you Molly & my dear little darling, may God grant you all Health & a long Continuance of it. I am

Dr Charley

Y^r Mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

P. S. I Have Raised all the Rafters of my Corn House & Expect it will be finished in less than a fortnight. I have done Planting my Potatoes at all the Quarters. You may send the Penn^a & Maryland news Papers by Mr Ashton.

May 30th 1771 [165]

Dr Charley

I have y^{rs} from the 25th to the 28th instant inclusive. If Mr Gill & Boucher will not Accept 4/ insted of tob^o, they shall goe without either, this Resolution I have taken upon discoursing wth Mr Johnson Y^r Stallions shall be taken due Care of & kept out of the sight of Mares. I was & am very Sorry to Hear that you have been so much indisposed, I hope this will find you much better. We have Planted some tob^o at severall of

our Plantations. As y^r Horses Have not been drove a Journey by y^r People I send Will to Ride before th^m to Pick & direct the Road & to Assist in Case of any Accident to the Carriage or otherways. I shall depend on Seeing Molly & my little Darling on Saturday.

I now send you Heads of a Bill in Chancery Ag^t W^r Dulany as Mr Cooke seems to Have most Leisure put th^m into Mr Cookes hands, who may if necessary consult Mr Johnson. I have not set downe all necessary Interrogatories as they will Clearly occur on Reading the Facts. In going thro this matter I really am Astonished th^t W: Dulany should have so little Honor or Even sense of th^t & Honesty as to Suffer Himself to be so Exposed as He must be by the filing this Bill. In my letter of the 12th of last March I threatned it should be filed in 3 months. Pray if Possible let it be filed by the 12th of June. Let not Cooke or any one Else Give W. Dulany the least Hint of it to prevent it after His Scandalous Behaviour we ought not to be more tender of His Character than He is. I have put W: D's Letters in 3 Seperate Bundles, keep them so. Whatever letters are filed keep Exact Copies of th^m & what Else is filed. My Love & Blessing to you Molly & my Darling, I am
Dr Charley
Y^r Mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

P. S. I suppose (as you may well do) that you make the Roof seats &c. of the necessary serve again Bricks, stone, &c.

June 3^d 1771 [166]

Dr Charley

I have y^{rs} of the 31st past. I Return you Mr Buchanans Letter. I expect Johnson will Call on me in His Return Home, I will try to prevail on him to draw the Bill ag^t W. D. you must be Convinced it gave me great Pleasure to Hear you was much better & what must equally Please you, We are all well. My little Girl was Coy at first, we begin to be Acquainted. I understand it is doubtfull whether I shall be Honoured with the Gov^{rs} Company, should M^{rs} Eden Come without Him I shall

tell Her th^t if the Gov^{rs} inclination was to Come th^t I am sorry anything should have prevented His following it: wh^h will plainly (tho not impolitly) shew th^t I am as different as to Him as He Can be to me. I shall send downe y^r Geldings on Thursday.

God Bless you & Grant you Health. I am Dr Charley

Y^r Mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

June 20th 1771 [167]

Dr Charley,

If the Gov^r has made any decree in our Cause wth Digges pray let me know the substance of it. Mr French wants between this & the middle of Sep^r to Borrow £250 or 300 Curr. Bills to th^t Value will Answer, Pray let me have y^r Answer to this. As I hear Kilty has been with you, you will send me what magazines News Papers &c you Can spare. I give Mr Deards directions about the goods for this . . . This is bad weather for our wheat, I . . . Perceive any appearance of the Rust, . . . it be warme with this moist Cloudy weather, the wheat would be Certainly Hurt. Our Corn & Oates look well, the small Rains we have had were not Sufficient to make a Season Our ground & Plants are ready for it. We are all well & I am Dr Charley

Y^r Mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

8th Aug^t 1771 [168]

Dr Charley,

I have y^{rs} of the 4th & am glad you all got safe Home. Will prefers y^r Stable greatly to myne, I wish you had the large stack of Hay at the Pool meadow in the loft of it. I think the tob^o in Buchanans Hands will average £10 p^r hgd. I will write to Brownly, I intend to send it by a speciall Messenger, if I do not Receive a Satisfactory Answer, I will sel to Lee. I Return you the Bundle of W: D^s: letters with a Letter to Him, take a Copy of it, if He be in Towne or as soon as you know him to

be in Towne send it by Mr Deards, note on the Back of the Copy the Day He delivers the Originall, & if in ten days from the Delivery of it He does not Comply with it, put the Rough draft of the Bill into Mr Johnsons or Cookes hands & press the filing the Bill as soon as possible. The last letter referd to in the Rough Draft of the Bill is myne of the 12th of March 1771 Myne of the 15th of June W. D. of the 2^d of June & myne of the 5th of August 1771 must be added to the rough draft of the Bill. Mr Ireland told me He would give me the 30/ for Rob^t: if He does I will inclose it. A day Has hardly past since you left us without some small Rains, they are favourable to the Corne & tob^o but prevent my Stacking my Oates wh^h are all down, The Poole meadow is mowed & good part of it stacked, Dorseys Meadow will be lent this week & I hope to have all my Hay & Oates secured by the Middle of next week. They are Sowing my Rye & I hope to have all my wheat at this Plantation in the Ground in less than a fortnight. The Corn & tob^o is Clean, the old field tob^o before the House growes well, there is a prospect of Good Crops at all the Plantations. I inclose you a letter wh^h M^s Ashton brought me from my nephew who Opened it thinking it for Him. Molly did not write when she should want flour.

Aug. 9th. As Mr Ashton does not go to Annaplis untill next Saturday, I shall by Him send W: D^s letters I do not Care to trust them by the Bearer. The farrier was not free before yesterday, I sent for Him & He Came, the Horse in the mean time was treated & taken Care of According to His directions & is to Appearance much beter, for He now walks about & feeds without laying downe & gets up with ease. The farrier was with the Horse again this day & gave him a drench to loosen His skin for He is much Hide Bound. He tells me He shall Cure Him perfectly in a week, I do not Expect so Sudden a Cure but I have Hopes He will Cure Him, as the Swelling of the Spavin is much abated & the Horse walks with ease, is not nigh so lame as He was & feeds Heartily & looks lively. If He should Cure Him radically it will be a great Cure. If the morning be fair I propose to set out early to see Mr Croxall.

I send the Boy to know how you all do, I Cannot be unhappy as long as you all enjoy Health, God grant it to you. My love & Blessing to you all, kiss my little Darling for me, if you will not Molly will. I am Dr Charly

Yr Mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

Aug^t 16th 1771 [169]

Dr Charley,

I have y^{rs} of the 10th I Returned from Mr Croxall's last Tuesday, I did not find Him in as good Spirits as on my former Visits nor does He take the Exercise He used to do, He neither rides in a Chair or on Horse back & walks but little He thinks He Cannot bear Exercise, His nerves are so weak, relaxed & disordered th^t His mind is much affected in short He is Hippocondriac to a very great degree, He does not fall a way & may linger on in His unhappy scituation some years. He desiers to be kindly remembered to you & Molly so does Mr^s Croxall.

The farrier was with y^r Horse the 14th He had put another Rowell on the fore Part of the Joint between the Hip bone & the Spavin w^h Runs Plentiffully, the Rowell w^h He placed on the Spavin is dried up & there is hardly any more Appearance of a swelling on the Spavine Joint than in the Opposit Joint of the other leg, what swelling remains may be owing to the Effect or Consequence of the Rowell which may subside when the Rowelled part is quite Heated. He feeds Heartily & He begins to have a Belly. I think He will make a present Cure, the Disorder may Return sometime after the Effect produced by Rowelling Ceases.

The little Cart goes downe with some flour and Oates for a present supply, the Quantity of each I Cannot at the writing of this Ascertain, the Wagon shall go down with more as soon as we are more at Leisure, Y^r warning was too short as I Came Home on Tuesday. The lamb shall go downe by the Wagon if not by the Cart. I have Paid a Compliment to the Gov^{rs} Brother, th^t is enough. I am in hopes of Having my Cyder

House & Mill ready in time. Heeson has not begun to sow His wheat nor are His fields in a Condition to Receive it, at all my other Plantations I hope to Have my Wheat in the ground by the last of the month. I hope y^r Visit to White Hall was agreeable to you & Molly, Monday was a Cool Pleasant day at Mr Croxall's. I am glad the improvements you have made Please you & hope those you intend will do so. Let me know what news Montgomery Brings. Were Loyd my son I should not like His sinking £10,000 in a House, ease & Convenience is the most the Best fortune in Maryland will at present bear, shew among us in any shape is folly. Poor Ireland was & is ill with the Gout, He has it badly in His shoulders elbow & hand I doubt not He will send the 30/ when better & write His lease to Do^r Scot. I expect Rigges every day. We finished yesterday at all the Plantations stacking our Oates & Hay Heesons excepted most of His Oates are stacked. He has a good deal of Hay uncut & a great deal unstacked. All my meadows Have yielded Well the Pool Meadow Particularly I have there a good Deal more Hay at one Cutting this year than at two last. We had a pretty Rain on Tuesday & a good one on Wednesday at all the Plantations especially at those below me, not so much at Moses's & Sams. Every thing looks well and thriving. Pray seal the inclosed if the Originall is gone send this by Capⁿ Hanrick & Pay Him a Bill for the Earthen Ware Glasses & a Box of Lemons. The Brig Carlisle Caldwell Howard Master Belonging to Mr Smith in Baltimore Towne sailed between the 15th & 20 of May from Dublin as letters of the 21st of that month refer to letters of the 15th sent by Her, our goods are expected by Her & Her arrivall is dayly expected.

Just as I had finished the foregoing Sentence a Gentⁿ Called on me & told me the Carlisle arrived last Wednesday at Baltimore Towne, & suppose our goods are in Her Tomorrow we shall have 30 hgds of tob^o at the Landing, it will all be there before the last of the month, We shall have as I am informed 63 or 64 hgds. I suppose you Delivered to Mr West the Crop Note or Notes you had of last years tob^o at Rock Creek. Is McGill sued? Is Hall taken in Execution? Have you talked

to Johnson about the Decree? I Have orderd One Barrill of fine flour One of 2^s & 8 Bushells of Oates, the Ram Lamb must go by the wagon. Severall of our People are sick wth feavours & Fluxes but not Dangerously, Clem is among them. I suppose you are all well, I hope to Hear you are so. My love & Blessing to you Molly & my Darling. I am Dr Charley

Y^r mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

Aug. 23^d 1771 [170]

Dr Charley,

I have y^{rs} of the 16 & 18th inst. I have often wrote to W^m Brown, His Bond is out of Date & He knows it, if I Can I will get the 31: W. 3. I Have bought Clarkes Daughter, she is to be at the Folly with Her Father where she may be useful. I am Certain Clarkes Brother will make a very good Overseer for Annapolis Quarter, He is an Industrious hard working man, I have bespoke Him, unless you are otherways engaged. I believe His Wages will be £20 Curr^y p^r Anⁿ. I think the Elder Clarke will turn out a Valuable & profitable serv^t. I like him much you have Heard th^t we are dissappointed in the goods from Ireland. I have advertised y^r wheat in Baltimore Towne if I have an offer for it you shall know it. Severall small Boys & Girls Have been employed since the Recceit of y^r letters in Picking English grass & white Clover seed, the 1st was allmost all shed, of the latter I think I shall send you enough by the wagon w^h will be wth you the 31st inst^t. In Levelling y^r ground I hope you have been Carefull to preserve the top soil & to lay it on again sowe y^r Clover seed when the soil is moist Rake it & when pretty dry Role it with y^r Garden Roler if not too Heavy. We have had no Rain since the 14th, it is wanted for all things but Chieffy to Bring up the Wheat: We shall finish sowing at this Plantation this week. The Farrier has not been Here since last Sunday, the Rowell on the Hock is quite Healed, the Upper Rowell almost Healed, the Horse mends much, does not winch when you Rub the Spavin'd Joint,

you Cannot tell the Spavin'd Joint from the other without a nice inspection, He walks lame when He 1st gets up, after a time it is hardly perceptible, He mends in flesh & is not nigh so much drawne up in His Flanks as when you left Him, but He does not fill as fast as He ought to do from His food & Pasture. I Have observed (for I see Him twice a day at least) that when He lays downe on His Spavin'd Side He still Rises wth Difficulty not without two or 3 Efforts, But when on His sound Side He rises as easily as any other Horse, this indicates a great Remaining Weakness: The Farrier promises a perfect Cure it's possible not probable. Jo: Heeson left the Folly the 17th & I have not seen Him since, I think to put His Acc^t in Suit He deserves to Rot in a Prison, By Clarke's Care things go on tollerably well there & I hope to Have th^t Wheat in before the Middle of Sep^r. I am forced to keep Clarke Chiefly Here. Mr Ireland is much better, His Gout is off, & He proposes to go out to Day or tomorrow. Young Cooper Joe goes with this, send Him back as soon as you Can. I see no prospect of sparing Timothy & the negro Masons this fall, they are not & shall not be Idle Here, I think I may spare them next Spring & Summer. The wheelwright has orders to make the Carts you desier. Send up y^r Riding Horse by the Boy, I think the Farier will set Him to Rights. Nimble Came up in a Terrible Condition from His Carrying the Rum Cags, His side very much Swelled & imposthumated, the Farrier opened the impostune & Has Cured Him, He thrives fast & I think He will be in very good order before you will want Him. Mrs Darnall informes me you do not set out on y^r way to Philadelphia untill the 10th of Octo^r if so I shall not be with you before the 6th or 7th. Mrs Darnall may go to the Races. If you foresee any business to be done by me in y^r Absence Pray Begin to make y^r memorandums & make them full & Particular. I love you all & Pray to God to Bless you & grant you Health. Iam
Dr Charley

Y^r mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

Aug^t 23^d P. M.

Dr Charley,

Do^r Howard dined with me & informed me th^t Mr Caleb Dorsey had told Him th^t He was offered 7/ p^r Bushell for Wheat to be deliver'd at E: R Landing from this to the Expiration of 3 months: If it be not a Hum of Cale Dorsey's (w^h I shall know in a day or two) I will Endeavour to find out the Person who offers such a Price & will sell to Him if to be found. I am Dr Charley

Y^{rs} &c.

Cha: Carroll

THE SOUTH ATLANTIC STATES IN 1833, AS SEEN BY A NEW ENGLANDER.

BEING A NARRATIVE OF A TOUR TAKEN BY

HENRY BARNARD,

Principal of St. John's College, Annapolis (1866-1867)

 EDITED BY BERNARD C. STEINER.

PREFACE.

Henry Barnard graduated at Yale College in 1830 and then spent, as a teacher, the customary year, which was expected from every graduate, at Wellsboro, Tioga County, Pennsylvania. He then began to read law, but interrupted his study in the early months of 1833 to spend several months in Washington, D. C., and in travel through the South Atlantic States. He was twenty-two years old, attractive in his personality and possessed a strikingly handsome appearance. Endowed with curiosity and intelligence, his observations upon men and places are of considerable value. Fortunately, there have been preserved a sort of a Diary kept by him upon loose pieces of paper and a

number of letters, which he sent to his brother, Chauncey Barnard, a resident of Hartford, Connecticut. From these sources, which have been kindly placed in the hands of the editor by the Misses Barnard, the daughters of Henry Barnard, this book has been prefaced.

Mr. Barnard was fortunate in being in the National Capital during the great debates of January and February, 1833, and had unusual opportunities, as he ate in the mess of Connecticut Congressmen. The Nullification Conflict was at its hottest. Jackson had issued his proclamation of December 10. Hayne had resigned his seat in the Senate to become Governor of South Carolina and Calhoun was just returning to the Senate to defend Nullification. While Barnard was at Washington, Jackson on January 16, asked for the passage of the Force Bill and the debates on that measure were listened to with eagerness. Clay did not vote upon the Force Bill, but introduced his Compromise tariff on February 12, dividing from Webster, who had just delivered his great speech upon the Supremacy of the Constitution. Barnard waited for the conclusion of the debate and, having spent two months in observing the political and social life of Washington, he started southward.

He was a keen observer, but it is noticeable that he seemed to have evinced no unusual curiosity as to Educational Institutions. By steamboat, by railroad for a short distance, by stage, on horseback, and in sailing vessels, he journeyed, stopping at a number of towns, where the presence of classmates and the assistance of letters of introduction gave him access to the society of the places. His route was by water to Norfolk and Richmond, and across country to Petersburg, whence his friends took him to Shirley, the seat of the Carters.

Entering North Carolina and passing through Raleigh, he spent several days with the faculty of the State University at Chapel Hill, visited friends in Salisbury who took him to the gold mines, not far off, and reached the western point of Asheville. He next crossed South Carolina, stopping at Greenville,

and after a short stay at Augusta, Georgia, descended the Savannah River to the city of that name. After visiting Beaufort, South Carolina, and Charleston, whence he received hospitality from Thomas S. Grinké, Barnard sailed for Norfolk. Retracing his steps through Petersburg and Richmond, he entered the Piedmont region and came to Charlottesville and Monticello. After a visit to President Madison at Montpelier, he went through Staunton and Lexington to gaze at the Natural Bridge, to climb the Peaks of Otter and to descende into Weyer's Cave. His return journey through Harper's Ferry, Frederick and Baltimore, brought him home about the middle of June, after an absence of about five and a half months. The vividness and freshness of his description of people and places make his narrative of much interest.

NARRATIVE.

U. States Hotel, Phil. Jan. 1st. 1833.

My Dear Brother [Chauncey Barnard, Hartford, Conn.]

I will seize the opportunity of G. E. Steadmans return to Hartford to drop you a line, wishing you and the rest of the good people of our house a happy New Year. I commence it myself under rather unfavorable auspices, having been confined to my house a quarter part of the day by a very severe cold, which has gathered upon my lungs and in my head, unfitting me for every thing. I have been much relieved this afternoon however and have made several pleasant calls.

I had a grand time in N. Haven and N. York. . . We passed on the Camden Rail Road. It is a very pleasant way of traveling, but the rumbling tremuolous motion of the cars is not very pleasant. We did not go beyond 7 or 8 miles the hour. I am quite lucky in my time of starting. Yesterday was the first day for a fortnight that the boats have run on the Delaware, and between this city and Baltimore, a little item which will make a difference of some 8 or 10 dollars in my pocket. . . .

Washington City, Friday Evening [Jan. 4]

My Dear Brother—

Here I am seated in Mr. Barber's room ¹ who has kindly offered me every facility of writing to my friends without any charge to them. I shall take a room and board at this place from tomorrow morning. . . . Eight or ten members of Congress "mess" together, among whom I shall take my seat, of this number are Storrs,² Huntington,³ & Young⁴ of our delegation, Davis⁵ of Mass., Slade of Vt.,⁶ etc. I think by taking this step, I shall put myself in a way to enjoy all the advantages which a residence of some weeks in this city can present.

From Philadelphia to Baltimore we had Henry Clay, with whom I had an opportunity to become acquainted. He is a man of real greatness, who had no occasion to entrench himself behind a mock dignity to be respected and keep himself from being trodden upon. He is easy of access, converses with any one on all subjects, utterly fearless in the expression of his opinions, talks on every thing—you may choose your own subject. I assure you my expectation of the man, whom we both so ardently supported, has not been disappointed.

We had also Judge Wayne⁷ of Georgia, a fine looking gentlemanly man, with several other members of Congress.

¹Noyes Barber (1781-1844), a Representative from Connecticut from 1823 to 1835, lived in Groton, a lawyer.

²William L. Storrs (1795-1861), a Representative from Connecticut from 1829 to 1833 and from 1839 to 1840; lived in Middletown; Chief Justice of the Court of Errors, 1856 to 1861.

³Jabez W. Huntington (1788-1847), lived in Norwich, Whig, Representative from Connecticut 1829 to 1834, when he became Judge of the Court of Errors, United States Senator, 1840-1847.

⁴Ebenezer Young (1783-1851), a Representative from Connecticut 1829-1835, lived in Killingly.

⁵John Davis (1787-1854), Whig Representative from Massachusetts 1825 to 1834, Governor 1834 and 1841-43, United States Senator 1835-1841, and 1845 to 1853.

⁶William Slade (1786-1859), Whig, a Representative from Vermont 1831-1843, Governor of the State 1845-1846.

⁷James M. Wayne (1790-1867), Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court from 1835 to his death, at this time a democratic member of Congress.

At Baltimore, my cold gathered still more closely upon my lungs and in my head, but taking a hot bath, I soon put myself upon my legs again. I found myself very pleasantly situated among some classmates there.

I took the stage this morning at 3 and reached here in time to attend congress. I heard Holmes ⁸ in the Senate, he talked about every thing in a very quizzical way, created some laughs and gave some severe hits at the president and his friends. In the house, the Tariff came up on Verplanck.⁹ The Bill of V. *will* pass the House, but not the Senate.

The mail will close soon—Direct your letters to me in an *envelope* to Noyes Barber, and then it will cost me nothing.

. . . .

Storrs, Huntington, &c., are here and have received me with the utmost cordiality.

Let me assure you, my dear B, that Henry Clay “Still stands erect.” Defeat, in no way an humiliating one when we consider the means by which it was effected, has not cut down the tithe of a hair of his princely height, or graven one new line upon his ample forehead. And he will continue to “stand erect,” proudly eminent among the great Statesmen of the present Senate—his eyes will still flash as brightly, and his voice ring out as clearly as of old, though the fiery spirit of Nullification itself is in the Senate Chamber and all the strength of the Administration should be brought up against him.

Calhoun took his seat today as Senator from Carolina.¹⁰

⁸ John Holmes of Maine (1773-1843). (See Congressional Debates, 2nd Session, 22nd Congress, page 51.) Democrat, Representative from Massachusetts 1817-1820, United States Senator from Maine 1820-1827 and 1829-1833.

⁹ Gulian C. Verplanck (1786-1870), Democrat, Representative from New York 1825-1833, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, on Jan. 3, 1833, moved to consider daily the tariff bill and consented that consideration of his resolution go over until the next day. He proposed a Revenue tariff with reduction of duties at once to 15 or 20 per cent.

¹⁰ John C. Calhoun (1782-1850), resigned the Vice-Presidency and succeeded Robert Y. Hayne in the Senate that he might champion the Nullification cause.

And it will be. Van Buren is in the field, the west is to be secured by holding out the alluring bribe of the Public Lands—and the Tariff is to be sacrificed as a peace offering to the South. But this vaulting ambition will o'erleap itself. If the Tariff is repealed or essentially modified under present circumstances then credit with the South will go where it belongs—to John C. Calhoun—and Nullification is not such an abomination in that section of our country, but that it will be lost sight of amid the glare of such success, and then in comes J. C. Calhoun at the head of the anti Tariff and the State Sovereignty parties.

Verplanck's Bill with slight modifications *will pass the House*. The discussion commenced today and will be hurried on till the fate of the Tariff is consummated. Six months have not elapsed since this question was settled after five or six weeks severe deliberation. The ink with which the Act of 1832 was written is hardly dry and its effect upon our revenue not ascertained and yet the House will rush madly into a fresh consideration of the subject, without pretending to have gained one new ray of light from any quarter, except the last message seemed determined to put every thing back where it was in 1816, except iron and coal in order to pacify Pennsylvania.

What miserable fluctuation! what a base surrender of the public faith! and what a set of "dough faces" have we got here to be frightened into a repeal of their Tariff, (for it will amount to that) by the impending scourge of Nullification. Are the U. States afraid of being *chastised* by S. Carolina, if they enter upon a consideration of this vexed question with proper caution? If the Tariff must be modified (and no one denies but what it must, if it creates too much revenue), or even eventually abandoned—why let us first see if the Laws of this Union can be executed—and what is the operation of the last Act, and then go forward, to legislate like men.

high minded men

men who their duties know

But know their rights, and knowing dare maintain

and the result of such legislation must be happy.

Don't misunderstand me, my dear B, I would not put the Tariff into the scale against the Union. It does not weigh the dust of the balance compared to that. Could the Union be perpetuated by the passage of the present Bill, with every patriot I should be satisfied. Nay more, could the former unhesitating confidence be restored to the country, I should rejoice to see every factory in the land utterly razed to the earth, even though they were mints to coin the stones of our gold. I know that such a step would spread misery far and wide. I know it would make N. England the theatre of such distress, as no eye in this country ever saw. But my confidence is in the industry and energy of N. England character. Her vigor of her constitution would throw off even a worse attack. The passage of this Bill at this time *will not satisfy* South Carolina and if it would, it will not restore confidence to the whole country.

If the race of vulgar politicians, who through the bye paths to office, think to quiet the agitators of one section by transferring them to another, as to eradicate a disease by merely changing the character, or shifting the seat of its symptoms, they will find themselves in the end miserably mistaken. Nullification instead of being put down, will receive new vigor, and will be an everlasting embarrassment to the Government. It will spring up like the Hydra head in every corner. But if we think of putting it down effectually we must deal with it as Hercules dealt with the Hydra—cut off the first head and sear the stump, so that it cannot spring up again and so with the second. Put down first the Nullification of your Intercourse Law and treaties—and then of your Tariff Laws—and then of your Land Laws, for some of our big sisters out in the West (to use one of Senator Holmes expressive words) will squat down upon her sovereignty and then think to cover 15 or 20 millions of the common property of the whole country.

If the President is in earnest in what he has proclaimed to the world, we have nothing to fear should S. Carolina rush in very deed upon an armed collision with the Gen. Government, which she seems to revel over in imagination. And upon her

head, as the guilty cause of that act, let the curse of the country rest.

But should she triumph over the constitution and the laws (and what a miserable triumph will it be, over the bleeding hearts of the friends of Constitutional Liberty every where) should the Union go to pieces on this rock of Nullification, I shall cling to the plank which bears N. Englands fortunes. But I would fain believe the old ship will will ride out this storm—that the flag of our high hearted fathers will still float over us, with not one star extinguished especially not one of the “glorious thirteen,” that were emblazoned on its folds when it was first given to the Winds on the morning of our Independence. . . .

Washington City, Jan. 6th 1833.

Having located myself in this grand center of political wrangling for a few weeks at least, I must avail myself to the utmost extent, of my advantages for acquiring information of men and measures. I am here a fisher of men—and in this journal and other papers I must record my impressions of them. I must mark each man’s peculiarities—the sine qua non, of his individuality.

Through the invitation of Mr. Barber, I am messing as they call it with several members of Congress at Hyatts—among whom are Storrs—Huntington, Barber and Young of my own State—Davis of Mass.—Stewart ¹¹ of Penn.—Cook of Ohio ¹²—Slade of Vt.—

Mr. Ellsworth ¹³ called on me yesterday—and treated me with the utmost cordiality and kindness. Indeed I think all of our Delegation have strained a point, to be polite, if they have erred at all.

¹¹ Andrew Stewart (1791-1872), Democrat, Representative from Pennsylvania 1821-35 and 1843-49.

¹² Eleutheros Cooke (1787-1864), Representative from Ohio 1831-33.

¹³ William W. Ellsworth (1791-1868), Whig, Representative from Connecticut 1829-1834, Governor 1834-42, Judge of the State Supreme Court 1847-1861.

Huntington usually cold, has been too warm it looks like force on his nature—last evening he gave me a sort of synopsis of his views on the Tariff.

Sunday Evening—[Jan. 6]

Mr. Hagg¹⁴ of S. C. was present this evening to tea with Mr. Mullany—He went into a discussion of the Tariff and other matters connected with it—thinks that even this Bill will not satisfy them—nothing will satisfy them—a general convention will be called—there matters will be settled and Nullification and its advocates will have gained all this—and then new party grounds will be assumed, and Calhoun will be triumphant, and moreover stronger security will be given them over their slaves—This is at the bottom of all their ado—nay the fact that they are the weakest part of the Union, makes them long for a stronger Gov. among their slaves—they want an iron despotism there—a standing army.

They dread a war and rather than be forced into it they will cry out so lustily for a convention, that a convention will be called—and that is the only honorable retreat, they can make.

The Laws of S. C. are more bloody than the iron code of Russia—a man was actually hung for shooting a mare—and he mentioned a case in which he was engaged, where a person was actually indicted and found guilty and adjudged to be hung, for killing an ox, that broke into his garden in the night time—These things ought not to be—and yet Carolina boasts of her chivalry.

The code of honor serves to make men courteous and habitually guarded in their conversation, even when under intense excitement, hence at the Bar they treat each other with more than ordinary courtesy—Language which at the North awakens nothing but a sharp return, would here only be atoned by the blood of the offender.

The South have passed Laws which do not reach us—was there ever a more despotic Law than the ordinance of the late Convention?

¹⁴ Mr. Hagg of S. C. and Mr. Mullany have not been identified.

Monday Evening—[January 7]

Attended the Senate all day—Mr. Kane ¹⁵ made his appearance against Mr. Clay's Land Bill on an amendment of his own—Mr. Clay followed in clear—comprehensive—able speech of about 2 hours—I had an early opportunity of experiencing the fascination of his manner—There was in it none of the flash and outbreak of a fiery mind aroused, except in one or two instances he threw an intensity of feeling that thrilled like electricity through the house—I should not like to have been the man to follow him—the Senate adjourned.

Mr. Calhoun says the hastening the extinction of the public debt has hurried the people onto the crisis.

Thursday [January 10]

I find it very hard to compose myself into a fit condition to enter notes in this book.

Yesterday I heard Mr. Huntington ¹⁶ make a very able speech—his manner is very violent—too much so for ordinary speaking—violence of manner requires violence of matter, as I understand, to suit the action to the word. Yet H. spoke powerfully for about 2 hours. in the Senate Bibb ¹⁷ had the floor, he is a very *hard* speaker—He spoke about 2 hours today—in the House Ingersoll ¹⁸ made a very able speech on the financial consequences of this Bill.

¹⁵ Elias K. Kane of Illinois (see Congressional Debates, page 62) (1796-1835), Democrat, Senator 1825-1835.

¹⁶ (See Congressional Debates, 964.) The Speech was upon the tariff, opposing the bill under discussion and proposing to amend it, as far as concerned the duties on teas and coffees.

¹⁷ George M. Bibb of Kentucky (1776-1859.) (The speech is not printed in Congressional Debates, but was upon the Public Lands), Senator 1811-14, 1829-1835, Chief Justice, Kentucky Court of Appeals 1809-1810, 1827-1828, Secretary of Treasury 1844-1845.

¹⁸ Ralph I. Ingersoll of Connecticut (see Congressional Debates, 977) opposed the tariff bill (1789-1872), Democrat, Representative 1825-33, Minister to Russia 1846-48.

Friday morning [January 11]

Yesterday evening I accompanied our delegation to a splendid party given by the French Minister.¹⁹ I was so unfortunate after reaching there to be obliged to return after my glasses, a distance of more than 3 miles. However I was richly repaid by additional gratification which a more minute observation of what was going on, imparted. Everything in the entertainment wore an air of novelty which in itself was a pleasure. I had many of the most distinguished men in the city pointed out to me, and introductions to any I wished. Mr. Clay was there. To McDuffie²⁰ I had an introduction. He dresses studiously plain, wears his uncombed hair long, and falling equally over his forehead, and all his motions are certainly not offsprings of the polished drawing. Yet under this plain exterior there lurks an indomitable pride and sense of mental superiority. He retires within himself not wishing communion with his fellow men, and though courteous, yet not inclined to invite familiarity. His eyes are deep set under his heavy brows, his lips are firmly set and its (sic) deep lines breathe an air of determination, and his eyes there is a wild light that argues a degree of unsoundness of intellect. His judgment is evidently not a strong one. He reasons powerfully on his premises but those premises may or may not be *unsound*, according to the influence which determined him to take them up. He has a great but visionary mind. But to the party. There were rooms below for the gentleman and Ladies to dispose of their dress—You were then passed up stairs, into a room which opened into another by folding doors, which was also connected with another of the same size in the same way, just within the second room stood his most Christian majesty Minister, Mr. Saurier (who was formerly minister to this country under Buonaparte) and on beyond (or somewhere beyond for her head and her heels had all the feathery lightness

¹⁹ The French Minister was M. Serurier.

²⁰ George E. McDuffie (1790-1851), Democrat, Representative from South Carolina, 1821-1834, Governor 1834-1836, Senator 1842-1846.

and vivacity for which the French are celebrated) his Lady, the Madam Saurier, You move up mentioned your name, passed the ordinary compliments and then disappear among the crowd which was fast gathering there. By time it had got to be a respectable squeeze, Mr. Saurier taking a Lady under his arm led the way into dancing room, spacious and brilliantly illuminated (aye too brilliantly for it exposed in broad glare that which it seems to have the special object to conceal, the ravages of time upon the loveliness and freshness of some maiden cheeks) by slightly made and fantastically decked chandeliers. Beneath this flood of clear white light, which was poured from the chandelier, every face, with its minutest workings was distinctly visible as in the open light of day, and what worse, blaze of rouge and pink powder, with which the ravages of time were attempted to be concealed, but which were then brought out into shocking relief. To tell the truth they dont understand painting an accomplishment, which I think should be taught in every female seminary in the land. . . .

Sunday—[January 13]

This day has seemed anything like Sunday the sounds of rude mirth has rung in my ears from the skaters on the pond close by, as though it were a holyday. I dont wonder that slaves become so much attached to their kind masters—they are generally treated with harshness—and the least kind word or action binds them fast even to a stranger. This morning I asked a black who made my fire, to tell me the time from my watch—he could not,—I then told him a simple way in which he could always easily inform anyone, or himself of the time—and the poor fellow was overwhelmed with gratitude—and several times today has shown himself ever ready to do me little services. His name is Braddock—has just received his freedom and says he will do all he can to deserve the kindness of those who employ him. . . .

Called on Gov. Tomlinson ²¹—conversed freely on subjects

²¹ Gov. Gideon Tomlinson (1780-1854) at this time a member of the United States Senate from Connecticut.

of all kinds—from him I should judge that the Cherokees would be advised by their friends in Congress to accede to some advantageous terms on the part of the Gen. Gov. and migrate—I suggested that the Indians might be guaranteed a perpetual title, provided it should be secured that they should not be included in the Chartered limits of another State to be formed with them. I gathered nothing from him that was new—he threw out no suggestions that were worth treasuring up.

Sunday [January 13]

My Dear C—

. . . On Thursday evening, I accompanied some of our delegation to the French Ministers Party—it was a splendid affair. All the distinguished men, Clay, Webster, McDuffie, Livingston,²² McLane,²³ etc., were there, and the choice beauties of the place—Military and Naval officers in full uniform—There was card playing and dancing and conversation etc.—the party broke up about 1/2 past 12. A party of this kind is the most commanding point from which to survey the great men and little men who are gathered together in this city and a great many little men there are here I assure you. . . .

The Tariff does not progress much—Things begin to look more favorable. There is a prospect that Huntington's amendment will prevail and if so the Bill to pass must be materially modified. But the Bill with modifications will pass the House but will stick at the very threshold of the Senate. Nullification has not the threatening aspect here that it had at the North, and I have less respect for Southerners complaints than I had before—It is all moonshine they must look to their accursed system of slavery before they can think to remove the evils under which they [are] suffering.

The President blusters away like a madman on the subject. . . .

²² Edward Livingston (1764-1836), at this time Secretary of State.

²³ Louis McLane (1786-1857), at this time Secretary of the Treasury.

[January 16]

My Dear B—

The Capitol is of course the great center of attraction although there are other lions in the city—especially the “roaring Lion” up in the Palace as they call the President’s House here. The structure itself is worthy of long and scrutinizing attention, and if the malign influence of the State Sovereignty has not blasted all National feeling, you will feel a solemn upstirring enthusiasm when you survey that noble pile—that worthy capitol of the noblest and finest Government in the world. Its commanding position, standing alone on a stately terrace, which furnishes a highly picturesque sweep of scenery in which the far famed Potomac forms a prominent feature—its fine Colonnade in front—the dome of the Rotunda lifting itself proudly into the sky—the Rotunda itself with the colossal paintings of Trumbull, which can no where be seen to advantage except in this grand vestibule of the two Walls of Congress—The majestic but harmonizing proportions of the Representatives Hall, with its semi[cir]cular sweep of marble pillars crowned with exquisitely wrought Corinthian capitals, and its crimson hangings contrasting richly with the dark material of the pillars—the more chaste but smaller dimensions of the Senate Chamber—the Library and the Supreme Court room, altogether, it presents the finest specimen of architectural skill in this country and indeed, for the beauty of its design and solidity of its masonry is worthy of the best days of Grecian Art.

But there has been enough going on in either House of Congress to engross all your attention. Mr. Clay has spoken once at large on his Land Bill which has been thus far procrastinated by the adroit management of its opponents, though I believe it will finally pass.

Mr. Webster ²⁴ called up on Monday a Bill, appropriating 5,000,000 of dollars to satisfy the claims of American citizens for French Spoliation on our commerce prior to 1800. In a

²⁴ Congressional Debates, 98, Monday, Jan. 14. The speech is not reported.

speech of about an hour and a half, he gave a lucid statement of the case, and the principle, upon which their claims are made upon our Government. The principle is this, our Gov. in its treaty of 1803 for a valuable consideration (and that was the release from the expensive and mischievous stipulations in our treaty of 17[76]) discharge the French Government from all liability to our citizens for their spoliations, and thus assumed the responsibility herself.

Upon this ground, the late treaty with France did not extend back beyond the date of 1800—although there is nothing expressly shutting out the claimants anterior to that time, yet the commissioners now sitting under this last treaty have put this construction upon it.

This is a debt of justice to our own citizens which has been long deferred but there seems to be a disposition on the part of a large majority in the Senate made up of all parties, to discharge it now. The Bill will be opposed by Mr. Tyler²⁵ of Va., when it is next called up which will be as soon as a final disposition of the Land Bill is made. Mr. T. is a vehement, powerful speaker, but he will fall into hands of one who will disentangle all his sophistry and set the question in its true light.

But if the Senate pass this Bill, there is no prospect of the House acting upon it this Session. They have involved themselves afresh in the discussion of the Tariff, either because the "Edict" (so says the *Globe* of Tuesday) of the President must be registered, or the mad threats of S. Carolina be obeyed. For one I am not anxious to see Congress legislate under the impulse of either motive, and I am rejoiced that our delegation have acquitted themselves so honorably in opposition to this Bill.

I want to see Nullification put down, and the doctrine of the Proclamation supported. I was for one glad to see this antidote administered to some of the monstrous doctrines of the Bank Veto message. Although I believe the Nullification of S. Carolina was engendered under the same noxious views of State Sovereignty which now actuate Georgia in trampling under foot

²⁵ John Tyler (1790-1862), afterwards President of the United States.

the Decision of the Supreme Court, and in which Georgia is countenanced by the present Executive, still I have no objection to see the Monster strangled by the same hand which has indirectly fostered it. I care not who gets the credit with the people, who enjoys the spoils of the victory. The battle of principles was fought 3 years ago, and won by the giant minded champion of New England. He was the first who called down the stern rebuke of all intelligent men, upon this half peaceable, half forcible, and altogether unconstitutional doctrine, as it was called a few days since by Mr. Choate of Mass.,²⁶ one of the most eloquent debaters on the floor of Congress. I know Mr. Webster's views were then denounced by the Jackson party, as "consolidation" and all such slang. But these very parties are now lauding to the skies the very same doctrines and calling on the country to sustain them in all their length and breadth, and, I pray, that it may, for they are but dead letters, although they have the signature of Andrew Jackson and the great Seal of the U. States, unless the people breath into them the breath of life. By the way nothing could be more ludicrous than the consternation and perplexity into which the appearance of the Proclamation threw the Southern Jackson and Northern Van Buren men. The first could not have been more startled if a thunderbolt had dropped from an unclouded sky at their feet, and the last dodged back as though a ghost had crossed their path. It came in such a questionable shape, that, faith, they dared not speak to it, or at least speak badly of it. So they began to cross themselves and mutter something between their teeth, but whether a curse or a prayer no one could tell. Pretty soon they began to speak in a noncommittal sort of way, taking exceptions to some of the *doctrinal points* but, now, since the message of this morning, they are pretty decided in its favor.

This morning the President sent a message to both Houses of Congr. covering the Proclamation and the Documents of S. Carolina. The reading of it occupied over an hour, and as you

²⁶ See Congressional Debates 1063 for this speech of Rufus Choate on Jan. 15.

will receive it by this mail, I will not comment on it. As far as I could see, there was no abandonment of the former ground, taken by the President and I am rejoiced at that. I never saw a man under such intense excitement as Mr. Calhoun²⁷ was when he addressed the Senate after the reading of the message. His quick restless eye glittered like fire—every muscle of his face was rigid, except those about his lips which quivered with suppressed passion. Language seemed to sink beneath him, he could not find words to express the strength of his feelings. He rose he said to give a prompt dismissal to the assertion of the President that S. Carolina wanted to break up the Union—alluded most cuttingly to the doctrine of the message that the Judiciary must decide on all cases of Constitutionality of the Tariff Law—How is this, that a narrow stream that divides Georgia from S. Carolina, should make all this difference. On one side the supremacy of the Judiciary was to be maintained and on the other, trampled under foot. I shall not attempt to follow him, his remarks will undoubtedly appear tomorrow in the Papers. The message and documents was referred both in the Senate and the House to the Judiciary Committee—The House so decided after a discussion of more than 3 hours, and ordered 25,000 copies to be printed.

There seems to be a wish on the part of the Jackson men in the House to smother all discussion of the doctrinal points and only consider the recommendations of the last message. But the attempt will be idle.

Thursday—Jan. 17—

We have had Grundy²⁸ up to-day in the Senate—and Ewing²⁹—he is a self made man—was a hostler till he was

²⁷ Congressional Debates, 100.

²⁸ Felix Grundy (1777-1840) of Tennessee, spoke on Public Lands (see Congressional Debates, 112), Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Kentucky 1806-1807, Representative (Democrat) 1811-14, Senator 1829-1838 and 1839-40, Attorney General, 1839-40.

²⁹ Thomas Ewing (1789-1871) of Ohio. (His speech and Clay's are not reported.) Whig, Senator, 1831-1837, Secretary of Treasury 1841, of Interior 1849-50, Senator 1850-51.

21—took to studying Law and his first political step was to the Senate of the U. States—Mr. Clay spoke about an 1/2 hour—. . .

Friday Evening, Jan. 18.

I have just received your letter of the 13th—as to the Franks it is what is done by every body—the members ask you, any and all of them, to avail themselves of the privilege—Still it will be well enough not to make a show of it—But drop your letter to me in an envelope to Barber into the Letter Box, and they cant make any question about it. I will risk all that matter—I will occasionally write by mail.

I will forward you any of the printed speeches which are worthy of it—About the middle of or last of next week the debate on the recommendations of the President will come up, and that will bring out Calhoun and McDuffie at any rate, and it is expected that Webster will take up Calhoun.

You have seen the last message on this—It is a good document. . . .

There is not as much personal warmth in the debates thus far as was expected—the truth is they are all shy here—the Jackson party as a party is broken to pieces, and the fragments have not yet adjusted themselves—hence a backwardness in committing themselves—If this is got over there will be a tremendous time I assure you—. . .

Saturday [Jan. 19]

I wended my way [from Georgetown] back the Avenue to the City Hall. There I met young Lee³⁰—a fine souled fellow, who insisted upon my dining with him on Monday. Heard Key³¹ examine a witness very adroitly—he is a fine intellectual looking man, very much wrinkled, which only gives a pleasant aspect to his face—he wears his hair like Milton's portrait, which he very much resembles—There were more than 200

³⁰ Zaccheus Collins Lee (1805-1859) of Baltimore. See Lee of Virginia, 466.

³¹ Francis Scott Key (1780-1843), who lived in Georgetown.

blacks in the court room, of every variety of shade, from light brown to the real coal black—with lips of every degree of thickness, from $\frac{1}{2}$ to an inch—and heads of one to 4 inches projection. From this place South, I suppose, the Negro begins to form a marked feature in the appearance of the Street, and what is more, they acquire to constitute a real convenience—they go and come at your bidding, and a kind word or action, especially a “small bit,” now and then attaches them fast to you. The other morning while lying in bed, I asked Braddock to tell me the time by my watch—But said he, Master, I cant read—So I told him to bring me the watch and I would show him how to tell the time, if he could say one, two, etc.—So I showed him and he has been my ready servant ever since, doing anything for me and anticipating my wants.

Went into the Sup. Court, heard Col. Brent ³² argue a writ of Habeas Corpus for Tobias Watkins ³³—who has been confined in prison these 4 years, when he is not worth one cent and this because Jackson will not pardon him.

Went into the Senate heard Poindexter ³⁴ on Clays Bill, not very interesting—crossed over to the House, Found Jenifer ³⁵ speaking on the Tariff and so I resorted to the Library where I staid till 4—then went down to dinner—After dinner went in and sat with Mr. Davis of Mass.—the ablest Tariff man in the House—has been here for 10 years—is a very strong minded man & highly respected. He told me our New England men had very erroneous notions of Southern character—that we gave them too much credit for high mindness, chivalry etc.—That they were a haughty, vindictive avaricious set—that their whole

³² Col. William Brent (1774-1848.) At this time, Clerk of the Courts of District of Columbia. A sketch of him with portrait will be found in 19 Va. Mag. of Hist., p. 206.

³³ Dr. Tobias Watkins (1780-1855), Surgeon in the War of 1812 and Fourth Auditor of the Treasury, 1824-1829.

³⁴ George Poindexter (1779-1853) of Mississippi (Congressional Debates, 123). Delegate from the territory, 1807-13; Representative, 1817-19; Governor 1819-21, Senator 1830-35.

³⁵ David Jenifer (1791-1855) of Maryland (Congressional Debates, 1135). Whig, Representative, 1831-1833 and 35-41. Minister to Austria 1841-45.

character is formed and moulded by the system of Slavery. Spent the evening with Storrs—Mr. Kane³⁶ one of the commissioners under the French Treaty came in, quoted a remark of John Sergeant,³⁷ that “he had rather a man would spit *on* him, than *over* him.” Sergeant has that little foible, which so often accompanies great minds in little bodies—a jealousy that that world will trample on him. Kane said he remembered Hamilton, he was a small man, who walked erect, and dressed in the olden style.

After Kane went out—we talked more than 2 hours on the subject of Conn. politics—S. told me how the present ticket was got up—several editors met—agreed on the ticket—wrote round to the friends of the candidate—told them to do all that could be done without alarming the fears of the other tickets and so they did, and triumphed. S. is disgusted with this kind of life—says he would not be a candidate for any consideration—he has great fears about the success of the next Clay ticket, of whomever it may consist.

Sunday—January 20.

About 11 walked over to Georgetown—found Mrs. Womans³⁸ very well—She has improved in her health since she was in Hartford—Mr. Womans, who is editor of the *Was. City Chronicle*, soon brought in the papers which occupied us for an hour.—had a very fine dinner—after dinner in came Miss Catherine W. a pretty creature of about 16, with blue eyes—slightly made and ardent temperament. . . . After 3 Mr. K., Mr. P. and myself walked out onto the canal—around by the Catholic College, which is most beautifully situated on an eminence which commands—view of the Potomac and the country around—the Nunery etc—The College and Nunery I am coming over to see during the week—

Took tea up to Mrs. W—She is a highly educated and accom-

³⁶ Kane, Commissioner under French Treaty, has not been identified.

³⁷ John Sergeant (1779-1852), Whig candidate for Vice-Presidency in 1832.

³⁸ Mr. Womans, editor of the *Washington City Chronicle*, has not been identified.

plished woman—has travelled over England and has in her possession several beautiful paintings and engravings—She treated me with whole souled hospitality and cordiality which is not exhibited at the North—She pressed me to call again, and I agreed and put myself under the guidance of the Miss Ws. to visit the Nunery. . . .

[Monday January 21]

Walked up to the capital—first into the Supreme Court room—saw there Mr. Binney ³⁹ of Phil.—one of the best looking now assembled in this city—a large frame and ample brow—by his side was John Sergeant, a much more diminutive man, but very intellectual looking—I had an introduction to him, found him easy, and familiar on all subjects—had a seat assigned me on the floor of the house today, on the ground of reporter—that is letter writing—well, that is not a large tax to pay for the privilege of hearing distinctly and the opportunity it affords for conversation with the members.

Mr. White ⁴⁰ of Louisiana spoke on the Tariff—he is French by birth, full of motion and after he gets agoing is wrapt up into the 3rd heaven—he uses beautiful language and is an acute reasoner, although the brilliancy of his fancy blinds as to that. He was followed by Mr. Polk ⁴¹ from Tennessee—a would be leader of the administration in the House—He is a very easy debater and presented some very strong arguments for reduction—showed from information collected by the Sec. of the Treasury that the manufactures of Woolens and Cottons were making from 15 to 40 per cent.

In the Senate Mr. Poindexter finished his argument and was followed by Ewing.⁴² E. is self made man—was an hostler in

³⁹ Horace Binney (1780-1875) of Philadelphia, the famous lawyer, at this time a member-elect of Congress.

⁴⁰ Edward D. White (Congressional Debates, 1158) (1794-1847). Whig, Representative from Louisiana 1829-1834, 1839-1843, Governor 1834-38.

⁴¹ James K. Polk (1795-1849) (Congressional Debates, 1162). Representative from Tennessee 1825-1839, Governor 1839, President 1845-1849.

⁴² Thomas Ewing of Ohio (Congressional Debates, 159).

his fathers service till he was 21—has had no regular education, but is one of the most respected men in the Senate.

Went down by B to Mr. Lee—at dinner was introduced to Mrs. Washington,⁴³ a sister of his, whose husband is now in the Mediterranean, his mother, a fine talented, educated woman—and two Miss McKay, sisters from Virginia—The last two are beautiful bright eyed girls, with whom I had the pleasure of walking up to the Capitol to hear the speeches before the Colonization Society—The speeches were flat enough, take them altogether—It was expected that Mr. Clay, Mr. Everett, and Gen. Jones⁴⁴ would speak—the two latter would have done so, had it not been for a tedious long speech of more than an hour from old Custiss⁴⁵—It was the darndest piece of nonsense I ever heard—He thinned the House so, nobody would rise after him. . . . I should have mentioned above that the Judiciary committee reported a Bill, embracing all the recommendations and suggestions of the Presidents message, I was not present when it was read—The debate on the Bill will commence very soon—in a day or two.

[Tuesday] Evening [January 22.]

There is no little excitement on the Bill reported by the Judiciary Committee. The question came up incidentally on the assigning a day to go into the consideration of the subject—Thursday—next Monday and next Monday week was named—The Nullifiers were anxious to thrust it off to the last named day, in order if possible to get the Tariff through—Calhoun finds himself standing on a precipice, or rather climbing up a cliff to the stand he formerly occupied—he feels as though the slightest breath may loosen his hold and plunge him to the very bottom—his situation deserves or rather is attracting com-

⁴³ Mrs. Washington was Ann Matilda Lee, daughter of Richard Bland Lee and Elizabeth (Collins) Lee, who, born in Philadelphia, died in 1858, aged 91.

⁴⁴ Edward Everett (1794-1865), statesman and orator, Whig, Representative from Massachusetts 1825-1835. Gen. Walter Jones (1776-1861), one of the most eminent lawyers of the day.

⁴⁵ George Washington Parke Custis (1781-1857), the builder of Arlington.

miseration—his former proud reputation still surviving in the memory of his friends—Millar ⁴⁶ from S. Carolina is a queer genius—rough, with a broken voice and rude gesturing—illustrated the situation of the two Governments to the two paths of a bridge over the entrance to which is the direction “Keep to the right.” Now the Bill, he said, on your table, tells the U. S. Government to turn to the left, and ride rough shod over the liberties of the country. Next Monday was at length agreed on—and there will ensue a fierce debate—Calhoun came out to-day on a series of resolutions, embracing the essence of Nullification—which will be argued soon—I should not wonder if he called them up on Thursday. He appeared much better today than he did the other day—he was more cool and deliberate and very earnest—

Webster has not been in his seat today and was not yesterday. He is preparing himself for the Supreme Court. . . .

Wednesday Jan. 23d.

I walked over to Georgetown—after taking dinner at Mr. Womans and reading the papers, we walked out to the college—met a jolly faced, big bellied man dressed in a cassock (a black gown like, belted around the body) with a blue cap, fashioned like a miter on his head, who proved to be the President, Rev. Thomas F. Mulledy,⁴⁷—invited us into his room and upon making known our errand, he took us into the Library, containing about 15,000 vols.—saw a manuscript there written out on parchment in 1240, nearly 800 years ago, as fresh and as beautifully written as though it was done yesterday—I could hardly believe my senses—saw different specimens of printing, from its first invention down to the present time. Saw what is called the illuminated manuscripts, that is, large letters gilded as we should call it. Saw a splendid copy of Don Quixote in

⁴⁶ Stephen D. Miller (1748-1838) of South Carolina (Congressional Debates 175) Democrat, Representative 1817-19, Governor 1823-30, Senator 1831-33.

⁴⁷ Rev. Thos. F. Mulledy (1789-18—), the sixteenth President of the College, was in charge of it from 1829-1837.

4 vol., quarto, full of spirited engravings. Went into the museum which contains the largest electrical machine I ever saw—the jolly old president tried an experiment with me—by putting into my hand a vessel charged with gas, and then exploding it by communicating with the machine. Saw a piece of a *Negro's* hide tanned—it was as thick as calves skin—the chapel is all hung round with splendid painting by old artists, and are all calculated to impress the great points of Catholic faith upon young minds. When we went into the Chapel, I noticed the face of our worthy guide materially elongate, as though he was treading upon sacred ground. The sleeping rooms extend through two stories, in which there are 70 beds each separated by their partition of cloth—the rooms are well aired, however.

Attached to one of the buildings is an infirmary, in which each patient complaining has a neat room, there is a common room for amusement, and long halls to walk in, then every portion of the buildings, are decorated with paintings and engravings, presents from great characters in Europe. The discipline of this college is very strict, and were it not for its Catholicism, would be a very eligible situation for a youth from 12 to 17. The situation of the college is delightful, I can't imagine any thing finer, the grounds around, and they extend up a valley a $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, are beautifully laid out into walks, and the southern exposure of a hill, embracing 5 or 6 acres, is planted with a vineyard.

As it was late—concluded not to visit the Nunnery till another day,—concluded on next Monday, should it be pleasant. . . .

On returning found the House had not adjourned and were not likely to till 8 or 9 in the evening,—so up I went to the Capitol and found Wilde ⁴⁸ of Georgia on the floor, he had a great deal of flourish in his manner, interspersed his remarks with apt quotations and instructive anecdotes and is remarkable for his courtesy to his opponents—he injured his own cause by

⁴⁸ Richard H. Wilde (1789-1847) (see Congressional Debates 1249) Democrat, Representative from Georgia 1815-1725, and 1829-35.

his allusion to Van Buren men in his speech and denounced some statements of Appleton⁴⁹ as a gross & palpable misrepresentation after a restatement by A. Wilde insisted on his first assertion and would not retract.

Thursday [January 24.]

This morning W. commenced with remarking that the pillow has brought reflection and he had come in to do justice to all—he then retracted what he had said in fullest manner with respect to Appleton—after he finished, Vinton⁵⁰ of Ohio began and made a very violent and able speech—pointed out other and real causes of S. Carolina distress as far as it existed distinct from the Tariff, and which the repeal of the Tariff would only increase. Said if all other articles of domestic growth were to be stripped of all adequate protection he should move to take off the duty on foreign tobacco, in order that the northern mechanic might chew his cud as cheaply as the negro could be clothed—he opposed the consideration of the subject at this time—said he would not yield a jot of the Law or Constitution to threats—that sooner than see either *obliterated by force*, he would see these seats swept of their members and the rivers of our land run red with blood. Upon this McDuffie uttered very distinctly, Robespierre, which was received with hisses. The speaker called all to order, Vinton concluded and McDuffie explained.⁵¹ It was considered on all hands a piece of affectation in McDuffie.

In the Senate Benton⁵² spoke about 3 hours against Clay's Land Bill—for about 15 minutes he is a very pleasant speaker to listen to, but he soon tires—the Senate while he was speaking were attending to other matters—and the seats were pretty well

⁴⁹ Nathan Appleton (1779-1861) (see Congressional Debates 1194) (1779-1861) Whig, Representative from Massachusetts, 1831-33, and 1842.

⁵⁰ Samuel F. Vinton (1792-1862) (see Congressional Debates 1273) Whig, Representative from Ohio, 1823-37, 43-51.

⁵¹ Congressional Debates 1290, says that Samuel P. Carson of North Carolina also explained and defined McDuffie's action.

⁵² Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri (1782-1858) (see Congressional Debates 208), Senator 1821-51, Representative 1853-55.

cleaned. Before the question was taken on the Bill I got tired and came home, but I am informed that it has passed to a 3d reading and will be finished tomorrow.

Muhlenberg ⁵³ from Penn. was very severe—he has a voice like a lion.

This evening since supper (about 9 o'clock) we have been discoursing of high matters of State.

Storrs mentioned to-night, that, he saw the last general order of Jackson—in which he, quoted the old axiom—instead of maxim etc.—and called on them to unshield the sword and throw away the scabbard. * * *

Friday [January 25.]

Today for the first time I felt very indifferently. Went up to the Senate, Forsythe ⁵⁴ was speaking in favor of recommitting the Bill with instructions to strike out the Colonization clause—he is a very ready debater the ablest of the friends of the administration—Benton inflicted another speech and hence Buckner, ⁵⁵ but the motion did not prevail. Mr. Calhoun ⁵⁶ then moved to postpone the further consideration of the subject till December next, which he supported in a speech of 15 or 20 minutes—he said he was for calling the stock holders together etc.—Mr. Clay ⁵⁷ replied to him in his happiest manner—in the course of his remarks, he said emphatically that this *Union could not be destroyed*. Mr. Calhoun's motion was rejected and the Bill was passed and carried into the other House—Mr. Cambreling ⁵⁸ was speaking—he has a good voice, a pompous

⁵³ Henry A. Muhlenberg (see Congressional Debates 1299) (1782-1844) Democrat, Lutheran Clergyman, Representative from Pennsylvania, 1829-1838, Minister to Austria 1838-40.

⁵⁴ John Forsyth of Georgia (1780-1841) (see Congressional Debates 232). He spoke on Public Lands bill. Democrat, Representative, 1813-18, 1823-27, and Senator, 1818-19, and 29-34; Minister to Spain, 1819-23; Secretary of State 1834-41.

⁵⁵ Alexander Buckner of Missouri (1775-1833), Senator, 1831-33. Neither his nor Benton's speech is reported.

⁵⁶ See Congressional Debates, 234. ⁵⁷ See Congressional Debates, 235.

⁵⁸ C. C. Cambreling of New York (1786-1862) (Congressional Debates 1329) Democrat, Representative 1821-29, Minister to Russia 1840-41.

manner, and a good deal of commercial knowledge—he began with lifting up his State etc., etc.—I quit and am now going to bed though it is not 7 o'clock. In the court today I heard Sergeant—he is a little man, but long headed, and received great attention from the Court.

Saturday [January 26.]

I have just returned from Mr. C. where I have spent a most delightful evening. The Misses C. are delightful girls and the youngest Miss Mary, plays charmingly—she and Miss S.—sang several duetts, very much to my entertainment. The cordiality of their reception, and the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. C., to introduce topics of conversation on which I could meet all as common ground, put me completely at my ease—as much so as it could be possible at my own home—Mr. C. pressed me to take a family dinner with him tomorrow to which I assented very readily. On returning, we, for I was introduced by Mr. Cook a member from Ohio, found three hours had slipped through our fingers very rapidly.

The Senate did not sit today—in the House Mr. Burgess⁵⁹ spoke about 3 hours and gave way to a motion to adjourn, and (as most of the friends of the Bill were down in an eating establishment below, preparing to sit out the debate till 9 or 10 o'clock) his friends carried very much to the chagrin of his opponents. Mr. B.'s set speeches are not as good as his off hand reply to his opponents—he is then terrific—his bitterness of language and manner was not surpassed by Randolph—His famous out pouring on McDuffie is said to have been tremendous—McD. turned all colors and his friends were compelled to step in and call Burgess to order—it was feared the violence of his passions would produce a fatal effect upon McD—.

He glanced today at Cambreling of N. Y.⁶⁰—"The Washingtons, and Hamiltons & Ellsworths of 1791, when they laid

⁵⁹ Tristram Burgess of Rhode Island (1770-1853) (Congressional Debates 1358) Federalist, Representative 1825-35, Chief Justice, Rhode Island 1815.

⁶⁰ Congressional Debates, 1371.

the foundations of the Protective policy, had not the advantage of that gentleman's council and wisdom, although he was then in esse (i. e. being). He was then, if it were possible, *as little* thought of & appreciated, as he is *now*." It is expected that he will out pour some of his vials of wrath on Monday, although he will not have a very full audience as the Senate will be the great point of attraction.

To be continued.

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The peculiar make-up of this issue of the *Magazine* is due to the proposed suspension of publication during the War, which would have left several contributions uncompleted. In future issues it is hoped to exploit many of the valuable manuscripts now in the collections of the Society, as well as a number of interesting original contributions, now in hand or in preparation.

Mr. Richard Henry Spencer desires to complete the muster roll of the celebrated Pulaski's Legion and requests that any descendants of those who served in the Legion send the record of such service to him in care of the Maryland Historical Society.

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No. 4.

THE SOUTH ATLANTIC STATES IN 1833, AS SEEN BY A NEW ENGLANDER.

BEING A NARRATIVE OF A TOUR TAKEN BY

HENRY BARNARD,

Principal of St. John's College, Annapolis (1866-1867)

EDITED BY BERNARD C. STEINER.

(Continued from Vol. XIII, p. 294.)

Monday evening [January 28]

Yesterday I attended services at the capitol—heard the catholic chaplain, who is a very showy, but hollow preacher—accompanied Mr. Stewart ⁶¹ & Cook to Mr. C—to dinner—It was a very splendid one—We had Virginian ham—turkey—roast beef—oyster sauce, potatoes—etc.—pies—puddings—apples—Almonds—raisins—figs—and—wine, and beautiful *girls*. We were two hours at the table—spent the evening at Mrs. L[ee's] or rather accompanied some ladies from there to Church—

Today I went over to Georgetown, expecting to return in time for the debate in the Senate—but did not—went to the Nunery in company with the Misses W—s—. They procured letters to

⁶¹ Andrew Stewart of Pennsylvania.

the Abbess, whose history is very romantic. She became very intimately acquainted with a Mr. S., and they engaged to meet three years from a certain day and if they were of the same mind then they were to marry—She was true to her word, but he took it all in jest, and forgot it, till he was reminded of the fact that she in chagrin had bid adieu to the world for ever and retired to a Nunery—She is very much beloved and has charge of the Academy in which more than 100 girls are educated—We were taken over the whole establishment even into the kitchen, and the ladies are taught even to cook and make all kinds of confection—talked through the grates with a Nun—she looked as though she would like to get out very much—took dinner at Mrs. W—it was a very plain but excellent dinner—

On returning found the Senate had begun on the Nullification debate—after an attempt to postpone the consideration of the subject in which Mr. Calhoun, Webster,⁶² etc., took part—each avowing himself ready to go into the debate—the debate was opened by Mr. Wilkins⁶³ who went into an explanation of the Bill, reported by him as Chairman—Mr. Burgess finished his speech in the House and was followed by Young,⁶⁴—whom I heard for about an hour. . . .

I have a grand time here, much better than I even expected—It will be of great value to me—It has been already— . . . We have most delightful weather I cant describe it—you dont need an overcoat—it is like April weather—it is uncommonly mild even for this place—The debates hereafter in the Senate will be very much crowded—there will be no getting seats, or standing—I go to a large party tonight at Seatons.⁶⁵

⁶² Congressional Debates 237.

⁶³ William Wilkins of Pennsylvania (1779-1865) (Congressional Debates 242) Democrat, Senator 1831-34, Minister to Russia 1834-35, Representative 1843-44, Secretary of War 1844-45.

⁶⁴ Ebenezer Young of Connecticut (Congressional Debates 1414).

⁶⁵ William W. Seaton. See life published in 1871 (1765-1866), Member of the firm of Gales & Seaton, publishers of the "National Intelligence."

Friday Evening [February 1]

My Dear B—

If I remember right I broke off my last communication just as I was going to Seatons party—on Monday Evening. I went was ushered into the front room, where the Mr., Mrs., and the Miss, Seatons were ready to receive you—you pass the compliments of introduction and if you can sustain the shock, you chat a little with the Madam and her daughters and then join the dance, which is going on in the adjoining room, or the conversation parties or little knots in the room which opens from the aforesaid by folding doors—the dance is kept up by some of the parties till 11 or 12 or 1 and always terminates with waltzing—a very graceful but voluptuous dance, in which a lovely figure is displayed to the best advantage—through the whole evening servants are constantly passing wine—lemonade—punches—ice creams—cakes of several kinds, jellies—and to end the whole a supper is spread upstairs—and I should add that in some of the rooms, card tables for amusement are to be found—to these set parties, from 150 to 300 are present, comprising all the great men and lovely women of the city.

You meet at each party pretty much the same faces—a little varied. Since then I have been at several large parties, but I do not admire them much. It is rather a bore—

The debate in the Senate has not got very warm yet—Wilkins⁶⁶ spoke two days, but not very ably and was followed by Bibb⁶⁷ in a speech extending through 3 days and a dry, hard, metaphysical speech it was too—he has been followed today by Frelinghuysen⁶⁸ in a very able speech, which he has but commenced—

Calhoun will reply to him—I have subscribed to the *Intelligencer* for a month which I expect you to pay in part for—I will forward them to you every day, I shall go back to the first

⁶⁶ Congressional Debates 253.

⁶⁷ Congressional Debates 264.

⁶⁸ Theodore Frelinghuysen of New Jersey (1787-1862) (*Congressional Debates* 312), Whig, Senator 1829-35, President of Rutgers College 1850-1862.

debates on this subject—They will all be reported as they come out immediately—

Webster will follow Calhoun—he says he will tear Nullification to tatters—The collision between two such minds will be tremendous, but come it will and must, though Calhoun does not seem to be in so much hurry to come out since he gave the challenge to Webster. Webster is in great repute with the President just now— . . .

I have received an invitation from Brooks the correspondent of the Portland Advertiser and whose letters you have undoubtedly read—to accompany him on a tour of a month or two to the South—it may be even to N. Orleans—I hate to miss this fine opportunity—I am now a great way advanced on such a tour, and can perform it with advantage of letters etc.—to much better advantage than I ever can again—I can have letters to any place—and you know very well what advantage that is to me. . . .

Washington City Friday Feb. 1st

. . . There is one truth which I learned pretty soon, that the majority of both Houses of Congress are no way remarkable for talent or industry—far from it—they would not take a leading part in our ordinary State Legislature. They owe their situations here to the accidents of party. R. M. Johnson ⁶⁹ of Ky. is a fool, a good natured fool, and yet he makes no little noise abroad—however that is not to be wondered at, Andrew Jackson is President, and Johnson is the fittest man to succeed him—*Who* is to be his successor is a matter of extreme uncertainty—The Jackson party as a party has no existence—it has gone to pieces now that the purpose of the election is over and the orthodox views of the proclamation are abroad.—

The Object of the Nullifiers is to put off the debate, or rather protract it, till they can get the result of the Minister Plenipotentiary from Virginia ⁷⁰ visit—It is expected that S. Carolina

⁶⁹ Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky (1781-1850) Senator 1819-29, Representative 1829-37, Vice-President 1837-41.

⁷⁰ "Minister from Virginia" is a reference to Benjamin Watkins Leigh

will put off her ordinance till next congress as the authorities will assure the Virginian Minister that she will not push things to extremities for the present—Another object is to get a modified Tariff through and in that way render it necessary to call another convention to pass another ordinance—for you will notice, that ordinance aims only at *acts*, not at *principles*, although the other proceedings are for exterminating the latter—This is now understood as a loophole to break through.

This morning Mr. Calhoun attempted to build up a new edifice out of the ruin of his showy but frail structure—

February 6th [Friday]

Called on Gen. Thomas ⁷¹—enquired the route to N. Orleans—he said that if protection should be destroyed, there w'd a tremendous cracking among the sugar planters—those however who could weather the storm would be gainers by it, as the price of sugar would immediately rise—

. . . The debate in the Senate grows more and more interesting, yet I will confess I do not take as much interest in the present speaking as I should if I knew that Calhoun and Webster were not to appear—their expected efforts cast a shadow before them that darkens even the brilliant speeches of the Senators—Holmes ⁷² spoke very ably yesterday and so did Tyler ⁷³ today—You will recollect that there formerly existed a firm here, known as James Madison, Felix Grundy, John Holmes and the Devil. Holmes said a few winters ago that the partnership was dissolved, and that it was Andrew Jackson—Felix Grundy—and the Devil. Tyler said today the old firm was restored. No, no, said Holmes, the devil has gone over to the Nullifiers, although he seems to be a sleeping partner, but it made no odds, as Nullifiers were doing his work well. Clayton

(1781-1849) sent as commissioner to South Carolina in 1833. (See Ames, *State Documents on Federal Relations*, No. 4, p. 53.)

⁷¹Gen. Philemon Thomas (1763-1847), Representative from Louisiana (1831-35).

⁷²Congressional Debates 348.

⁷³Congressional Debates 360.

will speak tomorrow and an able speech he will make too—the best probably that has yet been made—he will be followed it is supposed by Mangum—Grundy, and then possibly Calhoun and Webster—Webster it is understood has made great preparation. Calhoun it is feared will not do himself justice, he will strain to do so much—he knows he has a giant to follow him and he does not like to fall into such hands—Clay will not speak on the Bill probably.

The Tariff lingers in Committee yet—The House will probably act on it during the week, and you need not be surprised, if in the Senate, a compromise should be effected between the friends and opponents of the Tariff.

Tomorrow night I am told, the president gives a levee, which of course I shall attend.

The weather here is delightful—We have not had but *one flake* of snow this winter. It is springlike most of the time—I dread coming back to get the spirit of the winter, and I hope before this reaches you, yours will reach me, giving me a favorable answer as to my southern expedition. . . .

Friday Feb. 8th.

My dear Brother—

Last evening the president had what is called a drawingroom or levee. You understand the arrangements of the White House. Company begins to throng in about 1½ past 7 or perhaps a little early. You are ushered into a large ante room, where you unrobe yourself and then advance into the receiving Hall a round room of considerable size, hung round with rich curtains. Near the center of this stands the President, and shakes hands with all as they are introduced to him by his friends.

He looks much more firm than I expected to find him. His hair is grey but very thick and stands up erect on his head—He was dressed in a plain suit of black and there was nothing about him to distinguish him from an ordinary old gentleman. He wears glasses and shook his particular friends with both hands.

Blair ⁷⁴ and Hill ⁷⁵ and other worthies of that stamp were moving about this room. After this presentation, the company shifts for themselves—They move off gradually into the East room which you know is splendidly furnished—The four mirrors, two at each end of the room, are the largest in this country. They would cover our room—The rich crimson, golden, and sky blue hangings of the windows produce a grand effect, and the broad strip of cornice round the top of the walls is exquisitely wrought—The sides of the room are lined with rich mahogany cushioned chairs and sofás. In this room *in the course of the evening* were assembled more than 2000 people, and at any point of time I presume there was more than 5 or 600. The company sweep round arm in arm all the evening—In the first half hour, I took my station with two or three friends at one corner, and surveyed the army of beauty and fashion, and talent and ugliness, and shabbiness and dullness as it poured by in a living current. After that I moved round myself in the stream, of the dozen counter currents and eddies that set up, and swept in from four different directions. At one time with a Virginian, at another with a Marylander and still another, with an Ohio *beauty* on my arm. Think of that.

The old president is extremely penurious—he did not furnish the company with coffee, or wine, or music—nothing but his own hard dry features. He says he is not going to be beggared by *cheerity*.

The company, and it was an odd assemblage from every section of this country, dispersed about 11.

Yesterday we had a capital speech from Clayton ⁷⁶ of Del., you will find in it a conclusive and irrefutable argument against the main position of Calhoun[’s] letters which I recollect struck you

⁷⁴ Frank P. Blair (1791-1876) then editor of the *Globe*, the official Jackson organ.

⁷⁵ Isaac Hill (1788-1851) at that time United States Senator from New Hampshire.

⁷⁶ John M. Clayton (1796-1856) (Congressional Debates 378) Whig, Senator from Delaware 1829-1836, 1845-49, 1853-56, Chief Justice of Delaware 1837-39, Secretary of State 1849-50.

forcibly at the time—viz that the convention never intended to make the Gen. Gov., in its Judiciary Branch, a judge of the usurpation of powers on the part of the States.

The report in the *Intelligencer* of this morning is pretty full and accurate—but I shall purchase most of their speeches when they are corrected and printed in a pamphlet form. The debate will come to a close next week in the Senate.

The Tariff Bill passed out of Committee yesterday—If the opponents of the Bill are strong enough it will be strangled in the course of this week—If they are not you may expect that it will hum along for a week.

The report that Webster may be appointed Chief Justice is ridiculous—*Two* Judges never will come from one State.

There has been a very interesting discussion in House between Adams—Patton and Drayton⁷⁷ and two . . .—Adams made a grand speech against legislating on the Tariff this session, and against Nullification.

McDuffie, the letter writers have said, don't take any interest in the discussion—it is not so, he does take a great interest—the reason why he and the other Nullifiers don't act and speak is that their anti Tariff friends won't let them, lest it should prejudice the passage of this Bill.

Webster⁷⁸ made a short speech, which cut every way—He told the former administration men, that the hard names which they have given this Bill of the Judiciary, should have thrown upon the "Old Roman" the man of his choice. He thought

⁷⁷ William Drayton (1776-1846) of South Carolina (Congressional Debates 1609, 1654), Union Democrat, Representative 1825-33. John M. Patton of Virginia (1796-1858) Representative 1831-39. John Quincy Adams (1767-1848) after retiring from presidency was representative from Massachusetts (1831-1848).

⁷⁸ Congressional Debates 409. Of Webster's oratory, Barnard elsewhere wrote this: "There is something terrific in this part of his display—after, by repeated and repeated blows, he has demolished the arguments of his opponents he would take the fragments of the boasted arguments and point to the fragments, drawing down his dark eyebrows until they hang like a fringe over his flashing eyes, and give a dash of deep scorn to the curl of his lips, and throwing the very soul of contempt into his voice, he pounces down upon his victim, and may the Lord have mercy on his soul."

the parties would soon come to an understanding with each other. His remarks will be published in tomorrow's papers—Dallas ⁷⁹ has made a pretty good speech today— . . .

Monday Evening Feb. 11th.

My dear B—

Yours of the 6th came to hand yesterday. We are all afloat here just now on the subject of the Tariff—proposition after proposition are passing about for the acceptance of all parties. Clay is besieged with letters from every part of the South, and by manufacturers of the North to step in and offer some Bill of Compromise. He gave notice today in the Senate, that tomorrow morning he would present a Bill which he hoped would satisfy all parties ⁸⁰—Those who vote for it are to pledge themselves as far as public declarations will go, not to agitate the subject again, till the expiration of 8 years—I have been made acquainted with some of the provisions of the Bill, but you will get the whole measure and his remarks by tomorrow's papers.

The Southerners want to get S. Carolina out of her scrape at any hazard. Verplank Bill is dead, though nothing has been done finally with it—It was not called upon Saturday or today.

Millar of S. Carolina ⁸¹ spoke four hours today—in his odd, strong sort of way—It was a pretty able defense of S. Carolina in the course of legislation she had pursued. Wilkins ⁸² proposed several amendments, which do away with many of the objections, without impairing the energy of the original Bill. . .

Tuesday—Feb. 12.

Clay made a grand speech this morning—I never witnessed such a tremendous effect produced from any quarter—Things to be seen and enquired into—the actual condition of slavery—

⁷⁹ George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania (1792-1864) (Congressional Debates 414) Senator 1831-33, Minister to Russia 1837-39, Minister to Great Britain 1856-61, Vice-President 1845-49.

⁸⁰ Congressional Debates 432.

⁸¹ Congressional Debates 433.

⁸² Congressional Debates 460.

the management of a plantation—the culture of rice—cotton and tobacco—the time of planting—etc. etc. . . .

Thursday Afternoon [February 14]

My Dear B.

This has been the most interesting week I have yet spent in Washington—Everything is afloat and the future is pregnant with great events—Clay's ⁸³ Speech you saw in the paper of yesterday—It produced a tremendous impression and the resolutions of Webster ⁸⁴ running counter to Clay's, and yet not embracing a principle to which Clay will not subscribe, have taken away any credit which Van Buren might have gained by assuming the position which either W. or C. have taken. His partizans are in agony, and out of this new state of things, an efficient and yet permanent Tariff may be passed, but I doubt if it will be done this Session.

I have just come from the Senate—The expectation that Webster was to enter into an explanation of his resolutions, crowded the Senate Chamber at an early hour—but he postponed his remarks in order that the discussion of the pending judiciary Bill might proceed—Mr. Rives ⁸⁵ accordingly took the floor and delivered the ablest speech which has yet been made on the subject of Nullification. It broke into fragments the corner stone of Calhoun resolutions and the doctrine of Nullification, viz, that there is no sovereignty except in the *State*—the *people* of the State as *distinct communities*. He reputed the positions which had been taken by Bibb—Tyler etc., etc., and pushed Calhoun so hard by showing the inconsistency and absurdity of his views on this subject, that Calhoun will undoubtedly follow him—The Senate took a recess till 5—if there *should not* be a large audience assembled, as there undoubtedly *will be*, Calhoun will not address the Senate till tomorrow.

⁸³ Congressional Debates 462.

⁸⁴ Congressional Debates 483. Introduced on Wednesday, February 13.

⁸⁵ Wm. Cabell Rives (1793-1868) Senator from Virginia (Congressional Debates 492).

This will undoubtedly bring out Webster. The next 5 or 6 days will be worth a month stay here. You can have no idea of the excitement which prevails here at this time. . . .

The house has been trying to elect a printer—but after a number of ballotings had not succeeded when the Senate adjourned at 3 o'clock and they were still at it.⁸⁶

The Senate will probably agree on a Tariff Bill, somewhat similar to Clay's proposition but the House will not.

Friday Evening [February 15.]

My Dear B—

Calhoun⁸⁷ commenced this morning—The Senate chamber, (although it has been most stormy day we have had this winter—it being the only *snow* storm we have had) was crowded to overflowing at an early hour. C. commenced under deep agitation—he rushed directly into the subject—denouncing the Bill, and the manner in which it was pressed in very strong terms, attempted to exculpate himself from the charge of inconsistency—etc, etc.—but you will see a report of his speech in the *Intelligencer* of tomorrow—He spoke about an hour and a half, and gave away on account of a sudden dizziness in his head and failure of voice—he will resume his argument tomorrow morning and will be followed by Webster or Forsyth as both took notes—Calhoun had rather be under the nether mill stone than under Webster's eloquence.

Calhoun is a powerful speaker but he did not equal public expectation—indeed, he did not appear to as much advantage as in his two former speeches. He must go below Clay & Webster.

The House made choice of Gales & Seaton as printers—It was a sore defeat to the administration. You can conceive of their disappointment. From the result of the vote yesterday Blair expected confidently that he would be elected today—but he and his friends went away chopfallen.

⁸⁶ Congressional Debates 491, 1725.

⁸⁷ Congressional Debates 519.

The select committee will report a Bill, nearly similar to the one Clay proposed.

There is no doubt here but what S. Carolina will recede from her position *for the present*—but Calhoun declared most solemnly today that the present Judiciary Bill *shall not* be enforced in her limits. . . .

Saturday Feb. 16, 1/2 past eight.

My dear Brother—

I write only to say that the battle has been fought and won—Calhoun continued about 2 hours this morning—the moment he had concluded Webster ⁸⁸ caught the last words of his speech, and pronounced it in a way that thrilled like electricity through the whole House—he spoke about 2 hours—the Senate took a recess till 5—and he then resumed and spoke 3 hours longer.

Upon the whole it was the most overwhelming argument I ever heard or expect to hear—It will go down with the constitution, as true exposition of its meaning and principles. He ground the whole argument of Calhoun to powder—It will really require a microscope to discover the atoms. Calhoun will continue the debate—but he might as well bow himself on one of the pillars of the capitol and attempt to pull it—pull it down—he can't do—

The closing remarks were splendid, and drew forth an involuntary burst of applause, although it had been positively announced that in the case of any disturbance the galleries would be cleared immediately—

He made the blood thrill by his tremendous call on the people to come up to the rescue—

There will be some skirmishing on Monday—It may be that Calhoun will make a long speech—he took copious notes, but looked horrible during Webster's speaking—

⁸⁸ Congressional Debates 553.

Washington City, Feb. 18th, 1833.

Dr. Todd

My Dear Sir:—

Nunc Dimittis etc from this center of political excitement, but I would tramp here on foot in winter to witness again such splendid exhibitions of the human intellect as I have had even the unexpected pleasure of witnessing during the past week. Knowing your high admiration of Clay, Webster, and Calhoun as men of uncommon talents, I cannot wish you a loftier enjoyment than to have been present with me in the Senate Chamber during the speeches of these men, to say nothing of the eloquent and profound argument of Mr. Rives of Va.

You have seen (and I doubt not are surprised at) the propositions upon which Mr. Clay addressed the Senate on Tuesday last. I knew several days previous that he would bring forward some plan of compromise—He has been literally besieged during the whole session by letters from the most distinguished and influential men of the South and West, and by manufacturers from the North in person, to step forward and secure something like certain and permanent protection to the domestic industry of the country, and at the same time, quiet the agitation of the South. Besides the South, beginning to sympathize with Calhoun as a persecuted man, are anxious to get him out of his position with something like honor, and what is more the friends of both are anxious to save the country from the intrigues of VanBuren, and to do that will rally upon Clay in the next contest. You may regard the last suggestion as my own inference.

But I fear he has gone too far—he spoke entirely too lightly of Nullification. As Mr. Webster remarked most bitterly in the opening of his great speech on Saturday, that Calhoun “was like a strong man in a morass, his efforts to extricate himself only sank him deeper and deeper,” and he feared no friend could come to his rescue, without plunging himself into this “Serbonian bog.” But I did not intend to say even this much about it. The speech made a tremendous sensation—You cannot imagine the excitement which prevailed here when the details

of the Bill were known. The project is an admirable one except the provision about the uniform ad valorem duty at the end of 8 years. In proposing this Mr. Clay protests against his surrendering up the principle of protection. Mr. Webster dissents from the Bill as it stands—his resolutions you have seen ere this in the papers. Mr. Clay and Mr. Webster have thus taken away all credit from VanBuren, however the matter may terminate.

Mr. Rives of Va. addressed the Senate on Tuesday in a speech of nearly 4 hours. He met Calhoun on his own ground and beat him with his own weapons. There were some passages of real eloquence in it.

This speech called out Mr. Calhoun, who has appeared rather anxious to avoid a collision with the giant minded New Englander, who he knew would follow him.

He commenced on Friday morning and after speaking about 2 hours gave way on account of dizziness in his head and hoarseness. He urged but little that was new, that he had not presented in his printed remarks on the subject. He speaks with inconceivable rapidity and energy, and with a very dictatorial air. His language is sinewy—and his periods rather short. He has evidently got a fine mind. His figure is gaunt, his eye bright, or rather keen and wild, and his features when in repose exhibit great decision of purpose. He looks very much care-worn. He resumed his remarks on Saturday, gave us the philosophy of the Asiatic—Grecian—Roman, and English Governments—praised in the highest terms the liberty secured by the confederated Gov. (which he contended ours to be) of Greece and Rome—etc., etc—He concluded about 1 o'clock with denouncing the Bill, and consigning over to the execrations of posterity, its advocates. The words were scarcely out of his mouth, before Mr. Webster, in a tone that thrilled like a trumpet the nerve of every ear said "He was to take his chance with that posterity."

I can't convey to you an idea of the impression which the enunciation of that simple sentence and one or two succeeding

in his deep awful voice, produced. It lifted the audience from their seats, and when he said he did not stand up there to defend the ill regulated liberty of Rome, or the contentious liberty of Greece but our own dear American Liberty, he threw his whole soul into his voice, and made my blood quiver.

He then went into an argument, which was the most complete annihilation of Calhoun's position, and perfect demonstration of his own, that I can conceive it possible for the human intellect to frame. He shivered to atoms the specious but frail structure which Calhoun had raised with infinite labor, with a few strokes of his battle axe. He towered and soared above even my conception of what I thought he could do, after reading his reply to Hayne. You will not find in this speech as many brilliant passages, nor as high tone of excited feeling, as in the latter, but as an argument, as a demonstration of the nature of the constitution, I think you will pronounce this, far, far superior.

Its high excellence, is its perfect clearness—You are not at loss for a moment for its meaning. . . .

Wednesday, February 20.

My dear B—

I intended to have written you a full account of the debate between Webster and Calhoun, but I deferred it expecting that Calhoun would reply on Monday or yesterday—he will not do it till next Monday—He was overwhelmed by Webster's argument—and he needs not a week but an age to reconstruct the frail but showy structure, which Webster literally shivered to atoms. It was the most tremendous effort of pure reasoning I ever heard or expect to hear.

Forsyth ⁸⁹—Millar ⁹⁰—Mangum ⁹¹ and Poindexter ⁹² have been speaking since—Poindexter spoke 4 hours yesterday and 3

⁸⁹ Congressional Debates 592.

⁹⁰ Congressional Debates 595.

⁹¹ Willie P. Mangum of North Carolina (1792-1861) Whig, Representative 1823-26, Senator 1831-36 and 1840-53.

⁹² Congressional Debates 602.

hours today, occasionally abusive, vulgarly so, of Webster, against whom he directed his whole attack. Towards the close, he called, he alluded in the strongest terms to Webster's conduct in the last war, asked him then, "if he was in the front rank when blows fell heaviest and thickest—if then when the constitution was being cloven down, he called on the people to come to the rescue—to the rescue." This is part of Webster's close. After Mr. Grundy ⁹³ had got the floor, Mr. Webster, who as far as the outward man was concerned, had kept perfectly unmoved got up, and stated with as much coolness as you would use in telling about the weather, that the Gentleman had seen fit to allude to his course during the last war, to all this *from him* I have nothing to say—if however the Gentleman from S. Carolina chooses to take notice of any conduct of mine, *he* shall receive a respectful answer,—as much as to say, I will meet the Lion but not the Jackal. Poindexter, sprang to his feet in a fit of rage muttered out. "I have a perfect contempt for that gentleman." W. only bowed most scornfully. There is something terrific in Webster's sneers—I never witnessed anything like it—It makes your blood run cold.

The debate in the House has been very interesting for the last two days—The amount of it has been on granting protection to cotton. There the South has had a protection amounting to prohibition and yet is fighting against the same principle when applied to Northern industry, and even in the Bill under discussion in the House, a protection is given amounting to above 50 per cent—while a protection of 30 per cent is not extended to cotton-goods.

Jackson has exhibited a fiendish malignity of temper in the late case of Tobias Watkins, which has shocked the whole community, even his warmest friends. The court has ordered the release of Watkins, who has been confined more than a year beyond his sentence as a punishment—But no sooner had he been released than Jackson through his attorney for the district ordered him again to prison, when it is known he has not a cent

⁹³ Congressional Debates 662.

to pay and his large family depend on the exertions of an only son for support. I can mention several instances of this kind—Jackson is the most abandoned tyrant at heart on earth, and I am not sure if he gets the power, but what he would seize upon any occasion to hang Hayne etc.—etc.

He is in a most outrageous humor at the election of Duff Green ⁹⁴ as printer for the Senate—almost as great as when VanBuren was rejected.

Intended to have left here on Friady, but I shall wait now at least till next Tuesday—I want to hear Calhoun, for if he attempts to be personal on Webster there will be a fierce skirmish, like that between Hayne—I am anxious to hear McDuffie also.

It is rumored that Poindexter has sent a challenge to Webster—

John Randolph ⁹⁵ is here—he says he has come in to the death of the constitution. I have not seen him yet—but intend to.

The Bill of the Judiciary will pass the Senate tomorrow. Grundy—Sprague ^{95a} and Ewing will speak tomorrow, and this evening—Jackson says if Congress does not give the power requested, he shall exercise it if the necessity of the case requires it—. . .

Gid Welles, ⁹⁶ Ellis, Wilcox—Pease etc are here—They are in agony about the Tariff—Clays Bill is sore thorn in the sides of VanBuren men. I doubt if any Bill passes this Session.

Washington City, Feb. 23.

Dear B—

I have just come from the Senate Chamber—Webster and Clay ⁹⁷ have been out against each other on the question of the

⁹⁴ Duff Green (1791-1875) editor of the *United States Telegraph*, a Washington newspaper.

⁹⁵ John Randolph of Roanoke (1773-1833). He died in Philadelphia in the May following.

^{95a} Peleg Sprague of Maine (1793-1880) Senator, 1829-1835.

⁹⁶ Gideon Welles (1802-1878), Secretary of the Navy under Lincoln.

⁹⁷ Congressional Debates 722.

power of the Senate to originate a Bill of this description---Clay came out very warmly on an expression which dropped from W. that this Bill was thought by many to surrender up one branch of the American System—in defense of himself. He was powerfully eloquent—as much so as on any occasion that I have heard him.

I regretted it extremely—Webster however restrained himself. He did not reply in any thing of a personal spirit—he will come out against this Bill yet in a powerful speech—The Bill does not surrender up the principle of protection—In fact Clay expects that in 1842 the South itself will come forward and ask for protection on cotton—tobacco, etc. etc. which the Bill as reported by him puts into the free list, for this especial purpose to induce the South from interest to maintain the protective system.

There is however a complete breaking up of parties here—the South and *West below the Ohio* will vote together in the next political campaign—

Politicians go to bed and find queer bedfellows along side of them the next morning. . . .

The House has done nothing for two days—Clay's Bill will pass the Senate tonight to a third reading—Its fate in the House is somewhat doubtful, and yet its friends calculate on a majority of 30 or 40—. . . .

Washington City Feb. 26th.

My dear B—

The mail closed last evening before either the Senate or the House adjourned—both were the theatres of intense excitement. In the former, Webster ⁹⁸ assailed the general principles of Clays Bill in a speech of 3 hours full of strong and unanswerable argument—carefully avoiding anything of a personal nature—Clay ⁹⁹ replied in a speech of nearly 2 hours—but did not and could not overthrow the position which Webster took. He concluded with the most splendid outburst of eloquence I have heard from his lips. It was overwhelming. There is a

⁹⁸ Congressional Debates 727.

⁹⁹ Congressional Debates 729.

brief sketch in the *Intelligencer* of this morning of this debate—but it gives you no idea of it as heard. I cannot believe but what Clay is actuated by the purest and loftiest feelings of patriotism—but what he is anxious of pouring oil upon the agitations of the country. Clay was in several places very unkind and personal towards W. Taunted him with his new-born zeal for the administration. It was expected that W. would answer in the evening but the Senate adjourned rather unexpectedly, on the motion of Mr. Clay, who was informed that his Bill had been introduced by way of Amendment to Verplancks Bill and passed in the House to a 3rd reading after a debate of 2 hours. This move obviated an objection made by Webster, that the Senate had no right to originate a revenue Bill. The Senate will not go on with its present Bill, but take up the one from the House as soon as it is read a 3rd time which will probably be today. One week ago and there was little hope that any Bill would pass the House this session, now it is confidently believed that a Tariff—the Land and Enforcing Bill will pass. Calhoun is expected to answer Webster today.

[February 27.]

Calhoun¹⁰⁰ spoke more than 2 hours in support of his resolutions in answer to Webster's argument—but he neither supported the one or overthrew the other—Webster replied¹⁰¹ in a speech of about one hour, exhibiting but little feeling, he laid a hand of iron however upon Mr. Calhoun—Clay's Bill passed the House this morning and will come up in the Senate tomorrow and pass through—The Enforcing Bill is before the House—McDuffie will speak tomorrow and I shall leave next day for Richmond or Norfolk. . . .

Washington City Feb. 28th.

My dear Brother—

I have just come from the capital where McDuffie¹⁰² has been beating the desk—stamping the floor—and stunning our ears

¹⁰⁰ Congressional Debates 750. Speech of Feb. 26.

¹⁰¹ Congressional Debates 774.

¹⁰² Congressional Debates 1865. Speech is not reported.

for a good 3 hours without convincing the understanding for a moment.

His manner is very violent—he gives his emphatic words the strength of a blow with his fist—or stamp of his foot. Burgess described him as having the angry action and ferocious visage of a wild cat. He has a very strong mind however, but exceedingly visionary. Grant him his premise that 2 and 2 make 5 and he will easily maintain that 5 and 3 make eight.

He maintains that the South pays 19/20 of all the duties, and if we should separate, that she would have 45,000,000 of revenue while the North would not have but 5,000,000.

The Revenue Bill will pass the House tonight if the House is full by a vote of 3 to 1. The majority are determined to sit it out, and it is possible they may sit till morning.

An attempt will be made tomorrow to call up the Land Bill and pass it tomorrow—The Senate have not acted yet definitely upon the Tariff—They are waiting for the action of the House upon the Land Bill and Enforcing Bill.

I shall leave here tomorrow for Richmond from which place I will write you— . . .

Richmond, Eagle Hotel, March 4th.

My Dear Brother.

I have just reached this capital of the “Old Dominion.” I left Washington on Friday as I intimated in my last letter, in the Potomac for Norfolk. It was the coldest day we have had in this region this winter. We had a tremendous rough passage through the Chesapeake. Most of the passengers were sick. When we passed the mouths of the rivers which empty into the Bay, where the wind and the waves could have full sway, the old boat quivered and cracked in every joint and the waves swept clear across the decks. We passed in our way Mount Vernon, Fort Washington nearly opposite—Old Point Comfort, upon which you know Fortress Monroe is situated—the ripraps directly opposite, which two when completed will effectually secure the Bay. I intended to have landed at Old Point Comfort, and passed up to Norfolk on Sunday, but the Captain

dared not attempt to land. We reached Norfolk about 4 on Saturday aft. I crossed over immediately to Gosport—visited the dry dock which for solidity of masonry and splendor and strength of material, is perfect. It is not quite finished. The Delaware—the Java—the Macedonia and the Fairfax are laying there. I made enquiries for Sloane. He has moved across the river, has a shop now in Norfolk—and is doing very well—He is the only painter there and is making good wages. He has not laid up anything yet, but will be able to. I could not find his shop when I returned from Gosport, and his house is on a point formed by two branches of the Elizabeth. Norfolk has nothing very attractive about—Mr. Tazewell's ¹⁰³ residence is very pleasant. I spent the evening with Dr. Selden,¹⁰⁴ to whom I had letters very pleasant. I have heard nothing since I came here but State rights—Secession—Jacksons Proclamation broke upon [them] like a crash of thunder. They denounce him most bitterly. If his election was to take place tomorrow, he would not get the vote of this State.

It was so very cold, I concluded to take the Boat yesterday morning, or else I should be obliged to remain till Monday. We had Gov. Troup ¹⁰⁵ of Georgia aboard. He is a very quiet, silent man, very unlike what we suppose him to be at the North.

The James is a noble river—its average breadth for the first 40 miles must be 3 or 4 miles broad. You do not see on any of these Southern rivers, the beautiful villages which crown the banks of the Connecticut. The boat stopped at the Site of Jamestown—I went ashore. There are 3 or 4 chimnies standing, and the ruins of the first Church built in America.

We did not reach this city till about 12 at night, of course I did not leave [the boat] till this morning.

¹⁰³ Littleton Waller Tazewell (1774-1860) of Norfolk, United States Senator 1824-32, Governor 1834-1836. One of the ablest lawyers ever produced in Virginia.

¹⁰⁴ Dr. Wm. Boswell Selden (1772-1849). His son was also a noted physician.

¹⁰⁵ George M. Troup of Georgia (1780-1856) Representative 1807-15, Senator 1816-1818, Governor 1823-27.

The distance from W. to R——d, is about 380 miles, and the whole cost but \$10. I am very much pleased with the appearance of R——d, and I will now sally out to survey more particularly and deliver my letters of introduction.

Monday Evening.

I have spent the day very agreeably, and yet I am sorry to say that several gentlemen to whom I had letters are absent from the city. Judge Tucker¹⁰⁶ is away and others. Richmond is delightfully situated—the capitol commands a beautiful sweep of country—spreading out level on one side of the James River—and rising into hills—the whole site is broken, which makes it very picturesque.

I have attended the legislature to-day—It does not present many very able men. Virginians dress remarkably plain, and are very fine looking men. . . .

Petersbergh March 14th.

My Dear Brother.

I left Richmond on the 9th for this place 22 miles distant. The letter which Campbell¹⁰⁷ gave me to his father, gave me the most cordial, hospitable reception from his family. The fact, which they had learned, that I had taken an interest in his fate and tried to alleviate his painful situation, seemed to overwhelm them with gratitude. Charles was the favorite of the family and from his early proficiency and high standing, the brightest augury of his future eminence was formed by all his friends, but how have their hopes been blasted! Under what a terrible visitation is he now suffering! O God! if I should become mad! . . .

His father is a very strong minded, college educated man, and his mother is a woman of the finest talents highly cultivated

¹⁰⁶ Henry St. George Tucker (1780-1848) a distinguished writer. President of the Supreme Court of Appeals, 1831-41.

¹⁰⁷ John Wilson Campbell of Petersburg was a book dealer and in 1813 published the "History of Virginia to 1781." His son Charles (1807-76) was the distinguished historian who wrote the "History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia."

by reading and travelling and is connected with the first families in Va. His sister Elizabeth Moore Campbell, is a beautiful girl of about 18 or 19—and is the belle of this region. She is a little taller than Miss Elizabeth B. with eyes as bright, a forehead more intellectual shaped and a figure full yet delicate. Her hair is black, very black and her eyelashes lie like a black fringe above her eyes. Her nose is the finest feature in her face, which you know is very rare. With all these attributes of beauty, she did not strike me at first as very beautiful, but her face is one of those which require studying. When excited in conversation, she is very interesting. But enough of this, I am not in love yet.

Campbell's younger brother Alexander, is a fine lad, with an eye as bright as a star, full of fun and spirit and a very promising scholar.

From this family thus described I received the most kind attention and am indebted for one of the pleasantest and most profitable weeks I ever spent. I expected to leave Petersburg the next morning, but Mrs. Campbell sent down for my trunk and lodged [me] immediately in her best chamber. She gave me an invitation to accompany her and Elizabeth to Shirley, where she was just agoing, and I assure you I accepted the proposal without hesitation. Shirley¹⁰⁸ and the neighboring plantations on James river, are the richest and oldest estates in Va. So we started off the next morning, for Shirley about 15 miles from Petersburg and 25 from Richmond. The Old house, large and commodious was built nearly 2 centuries since, by the progenitors of the present proprietor, Mr. Carter. It consists of about 900 acres improved land of the first quality and 100 slaves and yields an income of nearly 10,000 dollars. He has this year *a field of wheat, of only 320 acres*, and raises for market about 300 barrels of corn. He keeps 20 horses. With such an income you may imagine his splendid hospitality. His service is all of silver, and you drink your porter out of

¹⁰⁸ Shirley was then probably owned by Hill Carter, a first cousin of Gen. R. E. Lee, whose mother was Anne Hill Carter.

silver goblets. The table at dinner is always furnished with the finest Virginia ham, and saddle of mutton—Turkey, then canvas back duck—beef—oysters etc, etc, etc,—the finest cellery—then comes the sparkling champagne—after that the desert, plum pudding—tarts—ice cream—peaches preserved in Brandy etc. etc—then the table is cleared, and on comes the figs, almonds and raisins, and the richest Madeira, the best Port and the softest Malmsey wine I ever tasted. . . .

While at Shirley, I visited, by invitation the ancient seat of Westover and Berkley, which with one or two exceptions, are the richest plantations in Virginia.

This excursion of a week gave me more insight into the manners and customs of the higher classes of this State, than I could have derived from any other source. We returned to Petersberg this evening. In crossing the James which is two miles wide, opposite Shirley to City Point, we had a tempestuous sea, and the Ladies were excessively frightened, and to tell the truth there was danger of being overset.

I have had as yet no time to visit or become much acquainted in this city—but I believe I shall leave here tomorrow unless it rains very hard for Raleigh—spend several days there, as I have been furnished with letters of introduction to the first families there—and then go on to Salisbury. I do think without exaggeration that this trip will be of more advantage to me than any two years I spent in college. . . .

Petersberg, March 15th 1833.

My Dear Betty

I think you would delight to visit this region, merely to observe the difference of manners and habits, from what you have been accustomed to, and to experience the princely hospitality of the *gentle* born families. For the last week I have had a succession of feasts. I accompanied Mrs. Campbell who is one of the most devoted mothers and well educated women I ever met with, and her daughter Miss Betty, a beautiful sprightly accomplished girl, to Shirley, the seat of the Carter family. Mrs. Carter, is of a high and wealthy family, and is

one of the plainest most unassuming women, you will meet with any where. Now, that you may understand how we lived there, and how one of these large establishments are carried on. I will describe a single day there—I will suppose also that it is a day upon which company is expected etc, etc.

When you wake in the morning, you are surprised to find that a servant has been in, and without disturbing you, built up a large fire—taken out your clothes and brushed them, and done the same with your boots—brought in hot water to shave, and indeed stands ready to do your bidding—as soon as you are dressed, you walk down into the dining room—At eight o'clock you take your seat at the breakfast table of rich mahogany—each plate standing separate on its own little cloth—Mr. Carter will sit at one end of the table and Mrs. Carter at the other—Mrs. C. will send you by two little black boys, as fine a cup of coffee as you ever tasted, or a cup of tea—it is fashionable here to drink a cup of tea after coffee—Mr. Carter has a fine cold ham before him of the real Virginia flavor—this is all the meat you will get in the morning, but the servant will bring you hot muffins and corn batter cakes every 2 minutes—you will find on the table also, loaf wheat bread, hot and cold—corn bread—

After breakfast visitors consult their pleasure—if they wish to ride, horses are ready at their command—read, there are books enough in the Library,—write, fire, and writing materials are ready in his room—The Master and Mistress of the House are not expected to entertain visitors till an hour or two before dinner, which is usually at 3. If company has been invited to the dinner they will begin to come about 1—Ladies in carriage and gentlemen horseback—After making their toilet, the company amuse themselves in the parlor—about a half hour before dinner, the gentlemen are invited out to take grog. When dinner is ready (and by the way Mrs. Carter has nothing to do with setting the table, an old family servant, who for 50 years has superintended that matter, does all that) Mr. Carter politely takes a Lady by the hand and leads the way into the

dining room, and is followed by the rest, each Lady lead by a gentleman. Mrs. C. is at one end of the table with a large dish of rich soup, and Mr. C. at the other, with a saddle of fine mutton, scattered round the table, you may choose for yourself, ham—beef—turkey—ducks—eggs with greens—etc—etc—for vegetables, potatoes, beets—hominy—This last you will find always at dinner, it is made of their white corn and beans and is a very fine dish—after you have dined, there circulates a bottle of sparkling champagne. After that off passes the things, and the *upper* table cloth, and upon that is placed the desert, consisting of fine plum pudding, tarts, etc, etc,—after this comes ice cream, West India preserves—peaches preserved in brandy, etc,—When you have eaten this, off goes the second table cloth, and then upon the bare mahogany table is set, the figs, rasins, and almonds, and before Mr. Carter is set 2 or 3 bottles of wine—Madeira, Port, and a sweet wine for the Ladies—he fills his glass, and pushes them on, after the glasses are all filled, the gentlemen pledge their services to the Ladies, and down goes the wine, after the first and second glass the ladies retire, and the gentlemen begin to circulate the bottle pretty briskly. You are at liberty however to follow the Ladies as soon as you please, who after music and a little chit chat prepare for their ride home.

Raleigh, Wednesday March 20th.

My Dear Brother—

Here I am in this capitol of N. Carolina, sweating as profusely after a short walk as I should in Hartford in the middle of May. I left Petersberg on Monday morning on the Roanoke Railroad in one of the Locomotive Cars for Belfield, a distance of miles which we went through in about 3 hours. After the novelty of this kind of travelling is worn off, the pleasure of it is very much diminished by the fumes of the oil—the clashing of the machinery—the hissing of the steam—and the scorching of cinders which are falling all around you. From Belfield we took stages for Halifax, a miserable little dirty village in this State, but then I was very glad to arrive after a toilsome ride

of 30 miles through mud and mire and a country which does not present a decent looking house the whole distance. I noticed in the fields, black *women* following their little ploughs, drawn by a jaded mule, and which is a very common circumstance. It is such ploughing and accompanying tillage of their soil, which has worn out this country. I spent two hours very pleasantly in the company of Mr. Long,¹⁰⁹ a lawyer of great respectability in that town, and to whom I had letters.

I started the next morning by 4 for this place, a distance of 84 miles, which I reached about 10 in the night, pretty much used up. The whole aspect of the country is mean—not a decent, painted house, or a neat village the whole way. The men dress very shabbily, and the women look very ugly. I passed by many farms, said to consist of 800 or 1,000 acres, but not half was under cultivation, the whole road lies through forests of pine, or worn out fields. The principle crop along here is cotton or corn—no tobacco, no wheat. Labor is very cheap—hands can be hired for 4 to 6 dollars the month. White labor is not much better than black. Land in considerable tracts can be bought for 4 to 6 dollars the acre. The taverns are miserable—They should be lettered pigsty, and the charge is outrageous—50 cents the meal for half cooked ham and eggs.

Letters, however, to this place has secured me the kindest treatment. Raleigh, when it is built up, will be a very beautiful place—It is laid out in squares—the country around is rather broken, and the people highly or pretty highly educated.

The State House you will recollect was burnt down a few years ago, and in it was destroyed the splendid statue of Washington, executed by Canova for 20,000 dollars.

An appropriation was made last winter, of 50,000 for

¹⁰⁹ Mr. Long of Halifax was evidently William L. Long, a lawyer and Whig politician of that town. Under the Harrison administration, he was seeking some recognition of his services. Dr. S. B. Weeks possesses a letter of his to W. P. Mangum, dated Feb. 27, 1841, in which he speaks of desiring a consulship and Mangum in reply thinks he might get the appointment as minister to Belgium or Naples. He preferred Belgium. The family is still prominent in Halifax and has been since the time of the Revolution.

rebuilding the former 2000 to repair if possible the latter. The State House will be built of granite, which is found in inexhaustible supply only a mile from the site of the Capitol. I visited it this morning in company with Mr. Gales¹¹⁰ and others. It is of very good quality, but they dont seem to understand getting it out or working it. A rail road has been constructed to the quarry.

I believe I did not mention that in my last letter from Petersburg, that I had seen Mr. Sam'l Robbins.¹¹¹ He is in moderate circumstances, but very much respected for his industry, temperance and piety, by means of these qualities, he is accumulating a little property every year—I took breakfast there the morning I came away. I saw Mrs Lydia Robbins. Fred R. keeps a tavern in the small way, and by the looks of his eye, is one of his best customers. This is between you and I. I was pressed to death for the reason why I had not called before on them, the truth is I did not think anything about it, till just as I started, and was not very well etc, etc, etc—They were all well, tell their friends if they inquire, and that I took breakfast there. The Lord deliver me from cousins in the fourth remove, when I travel.

I can get along much cheaper at the Tavern.

I have just seen Gov. Swain¹¹² of this State—He is not more than 32 years old, and is one of the most ungainly, awkward, homely looking men I ever saw. His career has been one of eminent good fortune. He was sent to the Legislature early—before he was twenty eight, appointed Judge of the highest court, and is now Gov. He is a man of very good mind however, and very well informed also. . . .

Chapel Hill University March 25th.

My Dear Brother—

. . . I spent another day at R. after I wrote you. I was

¹¹⁰ Gales did not graduate at Yale, but probably was a student there.

¹¹¹ Mr. Samuel Robbins of Petersburg has not been identified.

¹¹² David Lowry Swain (1801-1868), superior court judge, Governor about the time of this visit, and President of the University 1835-1868.

introduced to Gov. Swain, decidedly the awkwardest man I ever saw in any public Station. Nature has compensated him for his outward man by large mental endowments. Spent the afternoon at old Mr. Devereux,¹¹³ a fine specimen of the real southern hospitality and manners. My visit was none the less interesting because a lovely grand-daughter of some sixteen summers growth was present, and was pleased not to be very coyish. I spent the evening at Mr. Gales brother of the Washington Gales,¹¹⁴ to whom I had letters. He is a graduate of Yale and married his wife in Mass. Northern Wives for management and the endearing qualities of a mother, stand 75 per cent above par, yet a pretty southern girl with a big plantation is not to be despised. There was present among other ladies, Mr. Gale's mother, an old lady still in all the vigor of youth, with her faculties only softened and mellowed by time. She as you know was an English Lady—resided sometime in Germany and is acquainted with the most distinguished men of this country. I never met with a more intelligent and interesting Lady. She brought up the poet Montgomery and is in correspondence with him now. Her conversation is rich in anecdotes of her personal experience. Four hours flew by and I took no note of time, certainly not by its loss.

I left Raleigh about noon, but not without calling on some

¹¹³ Mr. Devereux is Thomas Pollock Devereux, a large planter on the Roanoke then residing in Raleigh. He was one of the largest slave-holders in the state and, about 1867, wrote a letter to the legislature which is published in some of its documents of that time. This letter shows him to take a position with reference to the liberated slaves which marks him as a statesman. He was a descendant of Jonathan Edwards. For many of these North Carolina notes I am indebted to the late Stephen B. Weeks, Ph. D.

¹¹⁴ Joseph Gales, the elder, printer, publisher and useful citizen in general. Born in England in 1761, died in Raleigh in 1841. Founded the *Raleigh Register* there in 1799 and was for the next generation the leading editor of the state. His son Joseph Gales, Jr., and his son-in-law, W. W. Seaton, developed and made the *National Intelligencer* a power in Washington. (See Weeks' *Press in N. C. in 18th Century*; also *Life of W. W. Seaton*, N. C. Booklet, printed about 1908.) Mrs. Joseph Gales was Winifred, daughter of John Marshall of Newark on Trent, born in 1784.

of my new made friends there—Dr. McPheeters¹¹⁵ and family—Gen. Saunders,¹¹⁶ Mr. Dwight¹¹⁷—The Gales, and Devereux—I bid goodbye to that sweet place and its hospitable people as to old friends. I reached this seat of the University of N. Carolina in the evening of Friday, a distance of 30 miles. The country is not interesting, except that it is more broken than that on the other side of Raleigh. After supper I delivered my letters to Dr. Caldwell,¹¹⁸ the venerable President of this college, of which he was pleased to take such *kind* notice as to send for my baggage and beg of me to consider his house as my home during my stay in Chapel Hill; and so I have done, and here I am now hurrying over this sheet in his office and in his venerable looking chair. This reconciles me more to the delay. I expected to have left yesterday evening for Salisbury, but the stage was very much crowded, and the night was dark and stormy and the roads excessively bad, and so I concluded to remain till the next stage—till tomorrow night.

Dr. C, is a very distinguished man—has travelled in Europe, and by his energy and perseverance, built up and sustained this institution for 30 years. There are 3 buildings for students, and recitation rooms etc, and a small chapel and observatory. It numbers about 100 students—8000 vols. in all the Library and a very respectable chemical and philo[sophical], apparatus. It was for a long time doubted at the North whether any thing like college discipline could be maintained at the South, but I did not observe any difference between the habits of students

¹¹⁵ Dr. McPheeters was a Presbyterian preacher, who had a school in Raleigh, a preparatory school for boys, and at another time had a similar school in Fayetteville. Dr. Weeks thinks that Willie P. Mangum was a pupil of his in both places and that he taught for him in Fayetteville.

¹¹⁶ Romulus Mitchell Saunders of Caswell County, N. C. was in public life for many years and was at one time minister to Spain. Gen. Bradley T. Johnson of Baltimore was his son-in-law. Gen. Saunders married the daughter of Judge William Johnson of the U. S. Supreme Court.

¹¹⁷ Mr. Dwight. Dr. Weeks knows nothing of him; perhaps he was a visitor.

¹¹⁸ Joseph Caldwell (1773-1835), president of the University, from about 1797 or 1798 to his death, with the exception of the four years, 1812-16.

here and at Yale—except that in this boasted land of refinement their manners are more rough and their dress, even vulgarly plain.

The germs are beginning to exhibit their tender green now. Indeed the peach and plum trees are in full blossom and the early flowers are to be seen in the gardens. I wish you to recur to the date of this letter with you. Here I am writing with the door and windows open—with rich and yet delicate blossom of the peach before my eyes and the fragrance of the early flowers upon the warm air. . . .

I shall pass over to Hillsboro tomorrow morning, if I can get a conveyance. It is but 12 miles, and is one of the most flourishing places in the State. Saving accidents, I shall reach Salisbury on Friday morning, where I hope to receive letters from my friends.

Chapel Hill March 25th 1833.

My dear Brother—

How long before I reach Salisbury is a matter of some doubt. I expected to have left here in the stage last evening but it was full, and the night dark and stormy, and the roads excessively bad, so I concluded to go by another stage, which will come on tomorrow am therefore still enjoying the hospitality of Dr. Caldwell the president of the College at this place.

While at Raleigh I enjoyed the kindness and hospitality of several wealthy and intelligent families, indeed a stranger is very well treated through this whole section of country Especially if he bring letters along with him.

I left Raleigh on Friday noon, and reached this place about 7 in the evening, a distance of 30 miles. I immediately delivered my letters to Dr. Caldwell, who sent for my baggage and wished me to consider his home as my home during my stay. Now this is a very convenient way of travelling indeed, and makes one better contented with delays than he would otherwise be. There are 5 professors and two tutors. There are 3 college buildings, and a chapel and observatory. The college is situated on a hill, amid a thick and extensive grove of native

oaks, which must present a fine appearance when in full foliage. The village is small, not consisting of more than 20 houses and owes its importance if not existence to the University.

The inhabitants, like most southerners are indolent, and like very much to lounge about and let the slaves do the work. The enterprising men are mostly from the North—They generally grow rich here, and are looked upon with suspicion.

Took tea this evening at Prof. Mitchell ¹¹⁹—felt myself back again into Con.—Mrs. M. is a daughter of Dr. North ¹¹² of N. London, and a younger sister of hers is now visiting her. Prof. M. is a good man and a patient thorough scholar with eccentric manners—He gave very distinct ideas of men and things as far as they have fallen under his observation—after tea, Mr. [Peter] Norwood ¹²¹ came in, told me about Bunker, ¹²² and to illustrate the manners of the Western part of this [State] mentioned an anecdote that was told of the wife of one of their former Governors—that she would not remove to Raleigh, because she would be obliged to wear stockings and shoes. Several students came in, a more raw set of fellows you don't see often collected.

Prof. M. thought N. C. must always remain poor—no large cities and could be none—no prospect of establishing any gen'l system of education.

[March 26]

Rose about 7—Walked over the garden—examined a sundial on a stone pillar—peach trees in full bloom—looked over Webster's speech—spoke at breakfast of what I had seen and heard at Washington—Dr. C. spoke pretty strongly against Nullification and the authors of it—with great discouragement of the enterprise of this State—the almost utter impossibility of rous-

¹¹⁹ Elisha Mitchell (Yale College, A. B., 1813). Came to N. C. about 1823 to teach in the University and spent his life there, being killed in 1857, by falling down a precipice on Mt. Mitchell, which mountain was named for him.

¹²⁰ Dr. Elisha North of New London (1771-1843).

¹²¹ Peter Norwood has not been identified.

¹²² Bunker may be James M. Bunker (A. B., Yale College 1832).

ing the people to a sense of the improvements of the age—entertained some of the students with an account of what I had seen at W—was invited by several to visit the Libraries—did so—the dialectic is one of the finest I have ever seen—I noticed mostly all very fine standard works—English works—English editions and in English binding—several portraits of members who have become distinguished—visited the Philanthropic Library—about the same no. of vols.—but less splendidly bound and many new books—walked out to the observatory and the burying ground—stones erected by the Societies—great rivalry between them—walked over the village—saw a great many while at one of the Stores—visited the University Library—rather small—the old building quite dilapidated—the State not liberal toward—rather jealous—no ladies here—good deal of music—after dinner was introduced to Prof. Hooper called on Prof. Mitchell, who had gone out to a Saw Mill with some Ladies—so out we went—and a very agreeable time we had of it too, conversed with the professor about rocks, stones and fossil shells—and the Ladies about appropriate matters. This institution has been built up by the perseverance and energy of Dr. Caldwell—took tea with Prof. Hooper¹²³ a very good and intelligent man—complained about the want of gusto in the pursuit on the part of the Students—Dr. Caldwell gave me a very interesting account of his travels in Europe. Slept over breakfast Bell—walked out to Prospect Point—and then to the Observatory. Heard Mr. Mitchell preach—after dinner conversed with the Dr. and wrote letters—Doubt the propriety of locating [a college] in a village.—

Hillsborough, March 27th 1833

My dear Brother—

I wrote you a few lines from Chapel Hill on Monday after-

¹²³ William Hooper, then a professor in the University of North Carolina, later went to the University of South Carolina; became president of Wake Forest College, was a Baptist preacher, a man of some literary attainments. He was a man of much eloquence, the grandson of Wm. Hooper, the signer of the Declaration of Independence, and left a large family. He died in 1876.

noon. I spent the evening at Prof. Mitchell's, one of the ablest men of the faculty. He is a graduate of Yale, and a native of Conn., and married his wife in N. London, a daughter of Dr. North. A younger Sister of his is spending some time with her. I should not have known from anything I saw at his table, or the manners of his family, that I was out of Connecticut. I didn't see two or three black servants standing at your elbows to execute your slightest wish, even to pushing the salt cellar a little nearer, if it is a foot from you. He gave me a good deal of information about the habits of these people, and the nature of the country I should travel through. He told me of an incident which frequently occurs at the camp meetings of the Methodists. The preacher in the midst of a fervent prayer, will all of a sudden burst out into a loud boisterous laugh—as though his soul was rejoiced at the conversion of sinners around him. The most godly of his brethren join with him. This is called the "Holy Laugh." What should you think of Joel,¹²⁴ should he break out into an explosion of that kind?

On Tuesday morning, I spent several hours at Prof. Phillips's,¹²⁵ an Englishman. He is considered a very able mathematician. His wife is quite a pretty woman. He wanted to have me make his house my home on my return. P. was a little too derogatory in speaking of the claims of other mathematicians. Pres. Day a mere arithmetician, the faculty of Yale rather weak except Prof. S[illiman].

I think I mentioned the circumstances which kept me at Chapel Hill longer than I expected. I tried on Monday to get a private conveyance over to Hillsboro, but there was not but two carriages in the place, one of them was broken and the other had no horse to go in it. I thus had the prospect of remaining in Chapel Hill till Wednesday night, after having seen all that

¹²⁴ Rev. Joel Hawes, pastor of the First Congregational Church, Hartford, Conn.

¹²⁵ Professor James Phillips, an Englishman, who came to the University about 1825 as professor of mathematics and remained there till his death in 1867. He was the father of Professor Charles Phillips and of Samuel F. Phillips, at one time solicitor general of the United States.

was to be seen of any interest to me. Just in the nick of time a lady came to my relief. Mrs. Webb, the lady of Dr. Webb ¹²⁶ of Hillsboro, had come over to visit Mrs. Caldwell, who has been for some time very sick. She hearing of my desire to visit H., and my inability to do so, without any intimation, put her coach, and her servant at my disposal. I of course declined accepting so kind an offer. But she insisted upon it, as the horses were doing nothing there, and might as well be agoing as not. So I very thankfully accepted the offer, as there was no escape. This is that kind of ready politeness, which a stranger constantly meets with. She gave me a letter to her husband a wealthy and intelligent man in whose house I am now writing. I had a delightful ride here. The morning was as beautiful as I ever saw in May. The air was mild, and the peach trees in full blossom. Hillsboro is 12 miles from Chapel Hill and is the finest village I have yet seen in the Southern Country. There are about 1000 inhabitants—and several beautiful residences with large gardens, full of flowers and fruit trees, crown the eminences around it. If the house had a new covering of paint—and the yards were a little more neat, and there were fewer blacks, you might suppose from external appearances, that you were in a New England village.

I made several very interesting acquaintances here—spent some time very pleasantly at Judge Nash's ¹²⁷ to whom I had letters. In the evening Miss Webb invited some of her young friends, gentlemen and Ladies, which gave me an opportunity observing the manners etc. etc.

I am off tonight at 11 o'clock for Greensborough 50 miles distant, as I have not finished this letter, I will not send it till I reach Salisbury. Dr. Webb received me very kindly—he is quite a wealthy man—wealth is here mentioned in blacks and

¹²⁶ Dr. James Webb who was for many years a leading physician in Hillsboro. In 1799 he undertook the organization of a medical society in the State. It was not successful. He made another effort in 1849 and was then successful.

¹²⁷ Judge Nash was Frederick Nash, a son of Gov. Abner Nash and nephew of Francis Nash, who was killed at Germantown. He was later chief justice and died in 1858.

plantations—was introduced to Dr. Michael W. Holt ¹²⁸—a late graduate of Chapel Hill—after dinner we commenced a stroll over the village—There are several very fine situations about the place was introduced to Mr. Clingman,¹²⁹ a student of law, who graduated with the first distinction at Chapel Hill—He is a very strong minded young man—

Delivered a letter of introduction to Judge Nash, he himself being away—found his Lady an excellent pious person—she gave me an invitation to call often—met at tea M. C. and Mr. Bingham ¹³⁰ the distinguished teacher of the High School here—after tea walked with the Lady to a prayer meeting at Judge Nash's—walked home with an elderly young Lady—fast verging into the sear and yellow leaf—prayers—called at Dr. Tadis ¹³¹ but did not find him in—called on Mr. Clingman—spent an hour with Mrs. Nash—her daughter—manners of Collegians appoint two or 3 of the most polite to wait on the Ladies—set speeches—and set subjects—Waverly novels and books of plates—stationed at every corner, where they may gaze upon the Stars as they sweep by. . . .

¹²⁸ Dr. Michael W. Holt. Dr. Weeks is not quite able to identify this man. He was unquestionably a member of the Holt family which was then seated in Western Orange of which Hillsboro was the county seat. It is now in Alamance County. The founder of the family was Michael Holt, who was settled before the time of the Revolution and suffered at the hands of the Regulators about 1770. This man is most probably the son of Michael Holt (b. in 1778 and d. in 1842) who was the father of Dr. William R. Holt, 1798-1868, a man of much influence in his day who contributed much to the development of farming in that section of the State. See a long account of the Holt family in the Biographical History.

¹²⁹ Mr. Clingman is Thomas Lanier Clingman, 1812-1897, a Whig Congressman, who later turned Democrat, was U. S. Senator, and Brigadier General, C. S. A. He fought a duel with Wm. L. Yancey of Ala., was a devoted friend of Willie P. Mangum.

¹³⁰ William J. Bingham, at that time and for many years after, principal of the Bingham School. This school was founded in 1793 by his father and is now conducted at Asheville by his son. The same school has remained in the hands of three generations from 1793 to 1916.

¹³¹ Mr. Tadis should perhaps be read Faddis. Dr. Weeks thinks there was a merchant in Hillsboro at that time, of that name.

Salisbury, Saturday March 31.

Much to my chagrin and disappointment I found no letters here from home. It is now more than a month since I have heard from you—I don't consider this as doing the thing that is right—I will still hope better things are in the mail, which will arrive to-night from the North. I encountered a tremendous snow storm on my way to Salisbury, and even now, the peach trees are powdered all over with snow, which presents a beautiful contrast. I left Hillsborough about eleven at night with not a star to be seen, and indeed nothing else, except by the light of a single lamp to the stage, which only shed around a dubious twilight. To make the matter worse, I had a fellow passenger, who was in an agony of fear lest he should be upset, which is the order of the day in these parts. You may be assured I made up my mind to encounter at least a half dozen upsets before morning, when I got into the stage. We progressed about 18 miles all night, and a bitter cold one it was too. I found my cloak and coat not too much protection. I was not upset but came very near it. I was once on the point of being emptied into the river in fording it. However we reached Greensborough about 11 A. M., a distance of about 40 miles. Before we reached there, three inches of snow had fallen, almost the only snow they had seen there this winter. Greensborough is a very pretty place—containing about 700 inhabitants—near it is Guilford Court House, where Gen. Green fought his battle—traces are seen to this day, especially the mark of a ball in an old sycamore—principal crop, wheat and corn, best of land bought for 5 dollars the acre—two gold mines in the county—few negroes—great gain. Cotton factory going up—the power of steam applied—spent two hours very pleasantly with Mr. Lindsay,¹³² to whom Dr. Webb gave me letters—I left Greensborough in the best stage, with the best driver and horses and passed over the best road in the shortest time to Lexington, where we slept till one in the morning—we then left for this

¹³² Jesse H. Lindsay of Greensboro, a business man and leading banker of the town, who still has descendants there.

place, which we reached about 5 A. M., I have traveled 134 [miles] from Raleigh. Dr. Smith¹³³ was awaiting my arrival, and appeared to be very glad indeed to see me. I found him and George quite well—they could not be better. Dr. Smith has quite a very large practice, which brings him in 1500 to 2000 a year, and he is growing every day into public confidence. I have no hesitation to say, that he is better read in his profession than 2/3 of the Doctors of our country. George is doing very well here. . . .

Salisbury, Saturday March 30.

Reached this place yesterday morning. I left Hillsboro on Wednesday night a little past eleven—There was not a star to be seen, and but one lamp to the stage, to lend its uncertain light to guide us over a very perilous road—felt pretty sure that a day of upset and overthrow had come—we rode about 18 miles only in 5 hours—The driver was pretty carefull, and we came no nearer than an angle of 45 to an upset—was waked out of my doze by a plunge of the stage into a bottomless water pit, or was in a process of translation through the top of the stage by a bound over a projecting stump—Towards morning we crossed the —— a branch of Cape Fear, and was in imminent peril of being emptied into it, now I have a hydrophobial aversion to any such thing—was entertained by a dispute between a Scotchman, and a true son of the Emerald Isle, about the benefit of the Union to Ireland and Scotland—good peach brandy—reached Greensboro about 11 in a violent snow storm—thought I had changed my direction—The forest presented a magnificent appearance with the tall trees, loaded with snow and cased in the dazzling coat of white—The peach trees presented a

¹³³ Dr. Ashbel Smith, born at Hartford 1806, A. B., Yale 1824, practised law in Salisbury, returned to Yale and graduated in medicine, studied surgery in France, practiced medicine in Salisbury, removed to Texas in 1837 and became Minister of Texas to Great Britain and France, and Secretary of State. He was later Colonel of a Texan Regiment in the Civil War, was president of the Board of Regents of the State University in 1881, and died in 1886. He never married.

brilliant sight, with their richly tinted blossoms powdered all over with a brilliant frost work.

From Greensboro to Lexington, the best stage—horses and driver and over the best road I have seen since I came South, belongs to the great Southern line of Mulford and Peck—we travelled the distance of 40 miles in less than 6 hours—Snow all the time—and very cold, found my cloak and coat not too much protection—reached Lexington about 7—after supper I got a very good sleep till about one—about half past we started for Salisbury which we reached about 5—Doctor Smith was very anxious and well pleased to see me, if evidence can be trusted—found him well and George too—About 8 I lay down and slept till 10—Doctor went out to visit a patient 6 miles—was called on by Huie,¹³⁴ an old classmate—called with him and Dr. Smith at his home—saw his two sisters, of whom Dr. Smith has spoken often and hugely of them and their beauty—not very much struck, felt very foolish and very stupid—I can not talk with Smith in company—was introduced at tea to Mr. Alexander¹³⁵ who invited me to call on him—he has been a bitter opponent of Smith—Smith told me of an affair of his, which redounded very much to his credit with three or four young fellows—He told him he would fight, if they dared challenge him.

Sunday Morning [March 31]

Was introduced to Mr. Locke¹³⁶—spent an hour in Mr. Alexander's office—found him a good Clay man—spent the forenoon in Smith's office—after dinner rode out 3 miles to see one of Dr.'s patients—delightful ride—talked of everything—Dr. urged me by all means to go to Europe, and that as soon as I was admitted to the Bar—. He thinks I should read to the advantage after my return—that one should visit Europe before his habits were confirmed—and his manners settled—if

¹³⁴ Warren G. Huie.

¹³⁵ Mr. Alexander has not been identified.

¹³⁶ Mr. Locke was possibly son of Senator Francis Locke.

I only had the means I would go directly—Major ¹³⁷ Kerr—tea at Mrs. Huie—Kate is considered a very voluptuous beauty—Antonette is of a different order of beauty, but much superior in my views—Kate's face wants intellect—vivacity gushes out of every pore of Ant—Wine, almonds and raisins are set in the room and you help yourself when you please—there is no sitting round the fire—but all is life, and conversation and music—I did not take much of any part in the conversation—it was light, but with sense enough scattered through it, to keep it from flying off to the moon—spent some time with Mrs. Huie ¹³⁸—broke up about 12—adjourned to Dr. Smith's room—talked till we got warm, I turned in with Doctor after he had read a chapter of the Bible—The Doctor is an enigma—We talked over my plans—and he is to procure me letters of introduction.

Sunday Evening—

Slept from 1 till 4—walked out with Dr.—George contrary to his orders had gone out to ride with Huie—This displeased him very much—He yesterday had involved him in a difficulty with Col. Lemly ¹³⁹—George is too forward and too bold for his age, and bringing him into this region of slaves and being accustomed to be called *Master*, will I fear not have a happy effect upon him—He went into a discussion of the matter—and thought it would be of advantage to him—met Mr. Locke—, after tea Henderson, ¹⁴⁰ Huie and Dr. came into my room and in various converse beguiled the hour till 10—H. told several incidents, which went to convince me that the faculty of the University of Va. were a most contemptible cowardly set of men—the bell rope—the insult to the Prof. and his intended—The whipping of a proctor—challenging etc.—

Dr. gave us a great deal of information about France and England—. . .

¹³⁷ Major Kerr has not been identified.

¹³⁸ Mrs. Huie, mother of Warren G. Huie.

¹³⁹ Col. Lemby has not been identified.

¹⁴⁰ Archibald Henderson.

Monday night April 1st.

After breakfast Dr. Smith spent sometime in my room—was introduced to Major Beard¹⁴¹ We conversed about my route—thought I had better go to Charlotte then to Berke Co.—so to Greenville to Pendleton, to Columbia or Augusta, and to Charleston, and will give me letters to some of the places mentioned—We talked about politics—State rights—etc. Henderson came in—walked through Salisbury—Mr. Fisher¹⁴² has a very fine situation, native trees in his front yard—Col. Polk¹⁴³ situation highly pleasant—Henderson is to introduce me to Miss Polk to-morrow—called on Miss Huie on my return—Miss Antoinette was as interesting as ever—Miss Kate has a very fair skin, her neck is as white as snow, but not as cold—her height is very good, her face wants intellect—Took a ride this afternoon in the Huie Coach out to Meccoy's¹⁴⁴ plantation—a tract of 4000 acres—a mill, cotton gin, 100 negroes—lives amidst of his plantation—country uninteresting—unmarried—fished awhile but did not get a nibble—returned about 5—took tea at Mrs. Henderson, was introduced to Miss Henderson—present Dr. Mitchell¹⁴⁵ and Mr. Morgan—Dr. M. is a very pompous man, and would be a great man—but is not.

Tuesday Evening—[April 2]

Have just returned from a ride through the country of 21 or 2 miles. It has given me an opportunity of seeing the man-

¹⁴¹ Probably Major John Beard.

¹⁴² Probably Charles Fisher, Major Beard's son-in-law, a Congressman, who died in Mississippi in 1838. His son, Charles F. Fisher, was killed at the head of the 6th North Carolina Regiment, at the first battle of Bull Run, or Manassas.

¹⁴³ Col. Polk may have been William Polk (1758-1834), father of Bishop and General Leonidas Polk.

¹⁴⁴ McCoy's plantation has not been identified.

¹⁴⁵ Probably Dr. Lueco Mitchell who served as surgeon on the Carolina at New Orleans in the War of 1812. He was a Whig and took some interest in politics. Mr. Morgan may have been Rev. John Morgan, rector of the Protestant Episcopal Church at Salisbury from 1832-1835, when he went to Missouri. He died on Staten Island in 1877.

ners—hearing the idioms of the ignoble and vulgar—looking at the country—the worn out fields old field and also of observing a geological curiosity. Indeed our object was to see the “Natural Wall.” The first sight we got of it was 4 miles from here—down in a glen—The wall was exposed by the disintegration of the granite from the action of the air and water—The Basalt itself seems to decay when acted on by water—It comes out in bricks as they call them, consisting of parallelepipedons—of 4—9 sides—the vein is a little inclined—. . .

Wednesday—[April 3]

Called to see Mrs. and Miss Henderson but found them both out—Henderson Library very fine—Judge Martin ¹⁴⁶ also—Gibbons Miscellaneous Works—

Smith’s room after dinner—called down with Henderson to see Miss Polk but found her out—Gen. Polk was not very courteous—I ventured to deny some of his assertions respecting Mr. Adams and not to worship at his idols shrine, Gen. Jackson—pointed out to me the palmetto—a thorny pointed leaf—

Rode out with Dr. to Mrs. Gen. S.¹⁴⁷—a lady who has once been gay and fashionable—Dr. touched her vein—a beautiful girl, granddaughter—fine forehead—finely chiseled nose—large black eyes—clear complexion and fine figure—will make a beautiful girl—Miss Mary S.

Took tea there—muffins—biscuits—waffles—bread—peach, ginger and lemon preserves—fine coffee—invitation to come again before I went—on our return found an invitation to Mrs. Fisher’s to tea—so over we went—Major Beard there—5 cups of coffee—very pleasant evening—.

Thursday [April 4]

Called at Mr. Henderson—not at home—the forenoon in discussing the propriety about going to-morrow, am going out to Major Locke and Col. Mac.—concluded to go to-morrow—

¹⁴⁶ Judge James Martin of the State Superior Court.

¹⁴⁷ Mrs. Gen. S. has not been identified. See note 149.

was presented by Huie, Henderson and Major Beard with letters—bid goodbye to Cate and Ant & Mrs. Huie—am going to bed quite sick—a very fine conversation with Joseph Weisman¹⁴⁸ on painting—I should judge him to be a master in his profession—I am in haste to meet him at Newbern—

Salisbury, N. C. [April 4]

My dear Brother—

It will be a week from to-morrow morning since I reached this place and a very pleasant one and profitable one it has been too. You will acknowledge that I have pretty good opportunities of seeing and hearing distinguished men, and I hesitate not to say, that as a man of society, of conversation, and general intelligence, I have not met one superior to Dr. Smith.

Of his medical attainments I can only judge from the vigor of his mind and extent of his opportunities. He ought not to remain in this place, although he has a very fine practice and is increasing it.

I intended to have written you a long letter but it is now nearly eleven, and I am off on the morning for Charlotte soon after 3.

I have spent a week here very agreeably. I found two of my old classmates here. I took tea and spent the evening of Saturday at Mrs. Huie. Miss Kate is very voluptuous looking woman, and her sister is a very intelligent—interesting young Lady.

I have also taken tea at Mrs. Street,¹⁴⁹ formerly of Philadelphia—A little granddaughter of hers about 14, was there and she bids fair to make one of the loveliest creatures in the world—she has a large black eye, and all her features are very regular—took tea, and spent last evening at Mrs. Fishers.

¹⁴⁸ Joseph Weisman has not been identified.

¹⁴⁹ Mrs. Street has not been identified.

Salisbury, N. C. [April 5th]

My Dear Neph—

. . . I have been here nearly a week with a particular friend of mine Dr. Smith, the ablest young man of my acquaintance. His conversation is a perpetual feast. He is a splendid scholar—spent a year in Paris and has read the great books of life and human nature with a keen eye. He understands woman thoroughly. In his company I have visited all the intelligent familys here—and rode 8 or 10 miles into the country in every direction to see the sovereign people in there homes—their log huts, which is the pervading style of building. The poor *whites* at the South are not as well off in their physical condition as the slaves, and hardly as respectable. Henderson and Huie, who were for awhile classmates are here pursuing the studies of the Law. . . .

Charlotte N. C. April 7th

My Dear Brother—

Dr. Smith, myself, George, and Drs negro boy left Salisbury with two easy riding horses and a double chair for this place, which is the centre of the gold mining district. Dr. was anxious to visit an intimate friend of his, H. Bissell ¹⁵⁰ who is engaged extensively in the mining business. For the first 10 miles the roads were so intolerably bad we came to a serious deliberation about the expediency of going on. I had seen so much of bad roads, that I was not to be deterred from going on, and it was so late in the season and time in every point of view ought to be so precious to me, that I could not think of returning to Salisbury. Still I advised the Dr. to go back, and I would wait at the tavern and take the stage when it came on. To this Dr. would not hear, so hearing that the roads were better on ahead, after breakfast (for we left Salisbury by 5 in the morning) we mounted horses and pushed on. We did find the roads better though they were not to boasted of out of this State, and reached this place, St. Catherine Mills 3 miles out of Charlotte, and 43 from Salisbury, a little after 6 in the evening.

¹⁵⁰ H. Bissell has not been identified.

The otherwise tedious distance was beguiled by Dr's. conversation, account of his travels in Europe etc. Mr. B. the man who is courting Caroline Bulkley,¹⁵¹ received us very cordially. Bissell and Smith resemble each other very much, and they both speak the English language with a degree of correctness and power, which I never saw equalled. You may be assured then that their conversation is highly interesting and profitable.

Miserable state of indecision about 5 miles from Salisbury—the roads excessively bad—concluded first to take the stage—then to let George take the stage, and Dr. and myself to ride his horses—then he rode back 1 mile after Isaac, to come on the —— horse—after riding 2 miles I, rode back, to take the chaise, and George and all—It was well this was done, for the stage was full and could not take George—we found no difficulty on the way, and by interchanging between the chaise and horseback found it very comfortable—we reached here a distance of 43 miles about 1½ past 6, left about 1½ past 5—I went to bed sick of the headache. . . .

Charlotte—St. Catherines Mills—Saturday P. M. [April 6]

I reached here last night—was kindly received by Mr. H. Bissell. The evening was spent without any peculiar interest, except the supper, or rather dinner for he eats but twice a day. 4 of us set down to a table, before Mr. B, was a fine roast fowl—Dr. Smith, bacon—myself, broiled fish to eat with the greens—before George, there was toast—waffles—and bread and biscuits. Beside Mr. B. was a fine bottle of Hock—he and Dr. drank of that—I took a large dish of coffee, but ate very lightly as I was suffering under an intolerable headache—after they had got through eating—they took a fine dish of coffee.

This morning—chicken before Bissell—ham, Doctor, eggs, myself and salmon, George—and the usual vegetables.

Bissell lives the life of a lord—and his manners can very well sustain him—though very diminutive, he is not a man to be trifled—

¹⁵¹ Caroline Bulkley has not been identified.

Too late to go to Charleston, down the country, after the 21st of April, the planters dont like to go into the country—thought I had better go to Augusta, and so down to Savannah—steam conveyances are good. . . .

Monday A. M. [April 8]

Yesterday we all rode out to the mines, which this company of which B. is the agent, is now working. It belongs to the children of a Mr. Capps.¹⁵² Capps was a poor drunken devil, and after the discovery of the gold, he lived so fast, and drank so much whiskey, that he died in a year. His wife is a poor beast and his children not much better. They get one-fifteenth of the gross proceeds of the mines. Taking a candle, each one, we descended the perpendicular shaft nearly 100ft., which was very fatiguing, and then penetrated the mines several 100 yards in various directions. There was a blast, while we were below, which produced a stunning noise. We were obliged in some places to slide, in others to creep and stoop, which is very trying to the back. The vein runs down at an angle of 45, with a breadth varying from 4 to 12 ft. the gold ore is interspersed with this vein—united with slate, quartz and the sulphate of iron. The gold in this mine is never found in large particles, and the richest ore looks like powdered rotten stone. About 100 men are employed by this company. The ore is raised up out of the mine by horse power—It is then sorted—and broken up slightly and carried to this place, the Mills. It is then broken up very finely—put into the Mills in quantities of 20 bushels, with a suitable amount of water power for 24 hours—into this also is sprinkled quick silver from 6 ounces up to 3 pounds according to the richness of the ore. Now a peculiar property of quicksilver, it unites with the gold in a certain proportion, as it is disengaged by grinding from the minerals in which it may be imbedded, or united. After this operation, the whole mass, dirt, stones, quicksilver and gold is let off into a large vat, and then a process of washing is gone through by

¹⁵² Mr. Capps has not been identified.

which the amalgam, or puttylike mass of quicksilver and gold is disengaged from the other worthless matter. The surplus quicksilver is then literally squeezed out, what is left is put into an alembic, the alembic put into a furnace, the quicksilver is disengaged by heat, but which is again condensed by passing the fumes through a pipe surrounded by cold water, so that none is lost and the gold is left in a crude, rough, state. It is then melted down and run into bars. These mills with an ordinary run of ores will turn out 200 pwts a day of pure gold, a pwt is worth from $87\frac{1}{2}$ to a dollar. The whole country in every direction is traversed by gold veins which are everywhere worked. There is a mine, some 10 or 15 miles from here which yields a profit of 200 a week. The man was not worth a cent when he leased it.

Yesterday there was a tremendous fall of rain, which swelled the streams so high, that the accumulated water swept away the dam of these mills, and caused a damage of 15000 dollars—you cant imagine the havoc a few hours has spread out beneath my eye at this time. Such a rain as this renders the roads impassable for a day or two. I shall not therefore be able to leave here till Wednesday.

I shall go from here to Lincoln—there take a horse and visit the deposite mines, which are by far the most profitable, in Berke County, come back to Lincoln and take stage to Greenville—spend a day at Pendleton—push on to Columbia—spend a few days there—and then push on to Charleston. I will write you from Greenville, if I reach there.

I have been furnished with letters to distinguished gentlemen in S. Carolina, which will insure I doubt not, the most cordial reception. I hope to reach Charleston in two weeks.

Dr. Smith, and George left here this morning for Salisbury. I have been treated very handsomely by Dr. Smith indeed and I account the week I spent with him, anything but lost time to me. The road he will take to-day is not crossed by many brooks so that he will go safe.

Everything here is now in confusion—and this accident will

probably sink the stock of this company, at least half. It is in every way a severe accident to them. The immediate loss is large and the consequential loss enormous.

Charlotte is a beautiful village—and within 2 or 3 years past has been the resort of a great many foreigners. It was formerly famous for its splendid dinners—and evening parties. I hope to find letters at Charleston.

Morgantown, N. C. April 12th

My Dear Brother—

I wrote you a letter on Tuesday from Charlotte expecting to leave in the stage the next morning but I was again disappointed, tho' not very sorely as I had a very comfortable home at St. Catherine Mills. I believe St. Catherine is the sweetest saint in the whole calender.

I was introduced that afternoon to Miss Catherine B.¹⁵³—a lady from Charleston who is reputed to be the prettiest girl on all the Capes. She certainly is very pretty—with bright black eyes—clear complexion and very delicately shaped—but like most of the southern ladies, she looks very delicate, too much like a flower, which you know must fade soon.

On Wednesday I visited several mines in the vicinity of Charlotte. They have not been worked in a very scientific or skillful manner and great sacrifices have been made. Gold mining is a very hard business and fortunes can as easily be made in any other way.

Charlotte you know is famous as being the place where independence was first declared in this country, and the Mills, as being the first, which put in operation a cotton Gin and a gold mill.

On Thursday I took a ride over to Capps mine—owing to the stop at the Mills, operations at the mines are suspended for a time. Took dinner with E[dward] Bissel in his log hut. On my return called at Mr. B's, was urged so hard to stay till Titus B[ennett] returned that I bid the company good bye and

¹⁵³ Titus Bennett and Miss Caroline Bennett have not been identified.

spent the afternoon with Miss C. B. and her Sister. I was here told of the most abominable habit—I ever heard of Ladies being addicted to—If Mrs. Trollope had told it I should have set it down as a lie. The Ladies, aye fine Ladies, eat snuff—rub their teeth with it on a toothbrush—and then they become as attached to it as men do to tobacco. That in a company of Ladies, the snuff box will be passed around, and each one will slip in her brush or stick and rub her teeth with it and if gentlemen come in all the apparatus will disappear as if by magic—the mouth is wiped clean with the handkerchief etc. etc. This precaution is taken by those who call themselves Ladies, but the Country women do it in the face of day and while walking along the street.

A gentleman told me, that soon after he came here, he offered a woman his snuff box, and his blank horror, she thrust in a toothbrush—and while he was looking to see how she would poke that up her nose, he was disgusted to see it go into her mouth. I have myself seen women use snuff in this way—since then. I spent a delightful time at Mr. B. till night came on and Mr. Titus B. did not return and I had no excuse to remain longer, as I was to leave Charlotte the next morning early. I was 7 miles out in the midst of the woods and intersected in every direction by cross paths to the various mines. I assure you I plunged into the woods with a boding fancy—but I got home safe in about 2 hours, after fording 2 creeks and losing my way sundry times. You have travelled in the woods in the dark, and been obliged to cross streams without bridges. You hardly see a bridge in this part of the country.

I left Charlotte in the stage, yesterday morning, in company with Dr. Nelson ¹⁵⁴ from N. York city, who is largely interested in the gold mines of Georgia. I should have said, we left in a stage—a little two horse concern. We were just 20 minutes in fording the Catawba River, 17 miles from Charlotte. It was delightful riding in the woods, the air was so soft and rich from the blossoms of the dogwood—the wild plum,

¹⁵⁴ Dr. Nelson has not been identified.

the hawthorne and the Hawe tree. We did not pass a dozen hours in going the whole distance to Lincolnton, 37 miles. At a miserable tavern we got the usual meals—fried ham and eggs. Bacon—Bacon, Bacon is set before you morning, noon and night, backed with corn bread and tough biscuit.

Lincolnton is a very pretty place—with 7 or 800 inhabitants, situated among the hills and streams of the Blue Ridge. Letters to Mr. Henderson secured me very polite attentions—I was introduced to several gentlemen. I was much amused with a Mr. Reinhardt,¹⁵⁵ a young lawyer, who studied a year in New Haven. Like most Southerners who have visited the North he speaks of it with enthusiasm. He wants to go back and “figure” away at N. Haven—cant bear to live here in the backwoods—wants to “see a steamboat.”

I left Lincolnton this morning about 1/2 past 6 in a stagee, drawn by a mule and a little pony. It was a queer looking team. I had a Mr. Mitchell¹⁵⁶ a gold miner, for a fellow passenger—he gave me a great deal of information about the mining business in this region which is entirely different from that of Charlotte. The mule and the poney took us right smartly over 17 miles, where we took another team still worse than the first, one of the horses gave out in about 2 miles, and we were obliged to wait two hours before we could get the old mule again, we travelled a little over 3 miles the hour to this place, the county seat of Berke. In passing up the gorge of the mountain we crossed one creek 27 times in a distance of 4 miles. I had a very good time however, as my companion was a very intelligent, shrewd man. We had too, part of the way, the society of a young lawyer from Charlotte who was riding horseback to Asheville, a distance of 100 miles to attend the court there. Lawyers in this way ride 200 miles and are gone 5 or 6 weeks at a time from home. This county and that of Bunkome are situated amidst the Blue Ridge and the inhabitants are a

¹⁵⁵ The name of Reinhart is common in that section as that of a family of Germans who came from Pennsylvania before the Revolutionary War.

¹⁵⁶ Mr. Mitchell has not been identified.

set of cut throats and savages, with some exceptions. There has been a set of counterfeiters, here for more than 20 years, and they have within a few weeks seized one of them old Twitter, who has carried on the business for nearly 40 years. The scenery around here is however very sublime, I expect to visit on Monday the highest point in the Blue Ridge—after doing that and visiting the gold deposits, I am out of this county as soon as possible—I shall go out to-morrow to Col. Avery,¹⁵⁷ almost the only literary man in this vicinity, excepting the lawyers.

Left L.—mule and poney—broke harness in about 4 miles—4 miles the hour—country broken—mountains in the distance—the South Moun[tain] delayed 2 hours by the breaking down of a horse—the gorge of the mountain very beautiful—evergreens—3 kinds of pine—the magnolia—ivy—Haw tree—and ivy etc. . . . Creek 27 times in 4 miles—the ascent long—Table Rock in the distance looked like a fort—Grandfather lifted its proud head in the distance—Mr. Michell the miner—discourse about the origin of gold—

Morgantown very prettily situated—surrounded by mountains—the Blue Ridge at a distance of 20 miles look splendidly—owned by 2 or 3 families—woman in jail for killing a man—rest of counterfeiters—old Twitter and son and Hooper—Stock and whipping post in the center of village with the jail and Court House—queer old bachelor for a landlord—rich and foolish—no horses—

¹⁵⁷ Col. Avery was Isaac T. Avery, son of Waightstill Avery and a member of the Avery family of Groton, Conn. He died in 1864, was a large planter and a man of great influence in Western N. C. His family were all democrats in those days before the war, when to be a democrat in N. C. was hardly considered respectable. ("Can you imagine such a thing as that and yet I. T. Avery's son, Judge Alphonso C. Avery told me that himself," Dr. S. B. Weeks writes.) I. T. Avery was the father of Waightstill Avery, C. S. Congressman, Col. Isaac T. Avery killed at Gettysburg, while in command of a N. C. Regiment, Col. Clark M. Avery, also killed in C. S. A. in 1864 and of A. C. Avery, judge of the N. C. superior and supreme courts.

Thursday Evening [April 18]

Sunday morning after breakfast I mounted a horse, for which I was indebted to the politeness of Mr. Pearson¹⁵⁸ and rode out to Col. Avery. He owns a very large farm of some 1000 acres across the Catawba in part very good land. He has a very intelligent family and is himself the most intelligent and interesting man I have met in this part of the state. He gave me a great deal of information about the country. I remained with him until Monday morning. I then returned and hired a horse for 50 cents to go down to see the deposite mines, which are spread over the whole country, south of this point. I first visited Mr. Mitchell's mine and took dinner with him. His mining land is situated on a little creek—he employs 30 hands, who turn out a pwt and a half a day per hand. This mining land, is nothing more than the little vallies, which lie between hills, such as you see every where in a mountainous, broken country. On the top of course is the soil and dirt varying from 4 to 8 feet. then comes a layer of gravel, which is found always upon a strata of slate, in this gravel, especially toward the bottom, the gold is diffused in very minute particles. The top soil is removed—then the gravel is washed, by being thrown into what is called a rocker, or cradle, which is in fact a little more than a large cradle about half way down is a sheet iron riddle—the cradle is a little inclined—the stone is thrown upon the upper end, and a constant stream of water is kept running upon it. The gold particles are washed through the riddle, in the bottom of the rocker, quicksilver is deposited, this by a peculiar property is united with the gold, and keeps it from being carried out with the water at the lower end. I dont know that this gives you any idea of gold washing, but the process is very simple, and I will explain them when I get home. I visited the mines on different creeks, for 14 miles to Brindletown. I here found Dr. Baskerville,¹⁵⁹ to whom Col.

¹⁵⁸ Mr. Pearson has not been identified.

¹⁵⁹ Dr. Baskerville has not been identified.

Avery gave me letters. Dr. B. introduced me to about 20 young men engaged in the mining business—and a fine set they were to. In the course of the evening Champagne and Madeira were brought in and a right merry time we had of it. The mines are making from 1 to 8 pwt a hand per day, a pwt is worth about 80 cents. Occasionally they strike a rich spot which yields 50 to 100 pwts a day. These mines will be exhausted in a few years and then the land will be good for nothing, and this mining land is the only land that can be cultivated. There are 5000 slaves engaged in mining in this county.

This morning before I left I called upon several Ladies—heard a very fine piano in a log hut. The miners all live in log houses, one story having two rooms. Left about 12, rode about 4 miles on my way here to Satterwhite,¹⁶⁰ where I got dinner. He is an original, he says gold is growing every day, and that he has some that is but a few weeks old.

I returned here about 5 this afternoon. I shall leave this place to-morrow morning for Asheville—You will hear from me in a day or two more.

Tuesday Evening—

Rode out to Col. Avery—was rather fearful in crossing the ford—belly deep—lost my way. Was kindly entertained by him—fine promising son. Mr. Hall¹⁶¹ a pedagogue—mining business profitable to the whole county—no veins in the county—The Chevalier grand entree—splendid mountain scenery—waterfall—the fine soil of the mountations—The top bald

Letter to Dr. Baskerville—rode back—miserable accommodations at McIntyre's cursed the whole concern and moved over to Tates—couldnt procure a horse in the village—got one, broke his bridle—mad as a hornet—rode out to Mitchells mine 7 miles—dinner a fine toddy, took the old womans fancy—cold bacon, fried bacon—cold beef and fowl—eggs and cornbread—

¹⁶⁰ Dr. Satterwhite has not been identified.

¹⁶¹ Mr. Hall has not been identified.

down to his mine—30 hands, men, women girls and boys—gold worth 89 cts—

Brindletown about 4—Dr. Baskerville a very good looking man—from Va.—visited several miners, the same appearance—called on Mrs. Thomas ¹⁶² found her playing on a piano in a cabin—music sweet and her sister was very beautiful Mrs. Irwin, ¹⁶³ must have been very pretty when young—called on Mrs. Carson ¹⁶⁴—very pretty woman—her husband killed Vance ¹⁶⁵—it troubles him now—cant bear to be alone—rode out to the mines—saw 60 men ditching in one field and over 100 in another—large owl, wings 2ft. across—the thrush a very sweet songed bird—Dr. Baskerville gave me letters to Charlottesville and Lexington, Va.—also rode out to Dr. Satterwhite—took dinner with Dr. S.—a very queer man, knew Gen. J. of old—knows he will lie and that he cant write a page grammatically—reached home about 4—full of sad prognostications—presentments of which I cant rid myself—suspicious looking men—seem to have an eye towards my purse and key—the weather this evening very kind—Left about 4½—Col. Tate ¹⁶⁶ got in—been rousing it all night—slept till we got to breakfast about 9—very good breakfast—Col. T. brought out his can of brandy—invited me to drink—was very inquisitive who I was—must be a man of science—Pleasant gardens a very beautiful tract of country on the Catawba—old man Carson sent his respects to me—very rich—

McDowell ¹⁶⁷—Greenleaf farm—6 miles in ascending the Blue Ridge, followed back to its source, the main branch of the Catawba, till it had dwindled to a mere thread saw its spring head—within a few yards of the summit—clouds resting on all the peaks round—the Gap—on the other side commences

¹⁶² Mrs. Thomas has not been identified.

¹⁶³ Mrs. Irvin has not been identified.

¹⁶⁴ Mrs. Carson has not been identified.

¹⁶⁵ Vance has not been identified.

¹⁶⁶ Col. Tate has not been identified.

¹⁶⁷ McDowell has not been identified.

the S.—imagine the river god pouring out of his urn, the Eastern and Western waters.

Ashville N. Carolina. Wednesday April 17th

My Dear Brother.

* * * I left Morgantown this morning about 4 and reached here about 7, a distance of 60 miles. We crossed the Blue Ridge, which divides the Eastern and Western Waters. Within 20 yards of each other I saw the Springheads of the Catawba which flows through the Carolinas into the Atlantic, and, of the L—which is the main branch of the French that flows into the Mississippi. It has been a rainy day, and the top of the mountains have been shrouded in clouds. When we were on the highest ridge, the surrounding hills looked like islands scattered through an immense sea, as they peered through the rolling masses of clouds. It was a rare sight. The road was excellent for this country.

I had a fine, original character for my stage companion. He was a Colonel, and aimed at being a gentleman of the first water. He had been cardplaying all night and in spite of his politeness, to sleep he went. When he awoke he was full of apologies, which I very condescendingly admitted. For the rest of the way he kept his spunk up by pouring brandy down. He emptied a pint bottle, I should think, on the way. He was a red hot Nullifier, cursed the Yankees, who were all (except myself whom he pronounced the finest fellow North of the Potomac) a d—d set of cheats and misers wanted to have me go back to Morgantown and spend a week with him. Said he would accompany me into the mountains &c &c. He was a right fine man if his face was red hot with steam.

I should have said that we passed on the way, a fine tract of country the Pleasant Gardens of the Catawba. It was rich meadow land. This upper land resembles N. England very much, except in its people.

Thursday [April 18]

I was obliged to spend a day which has made me quite feverish I assure you. I am extremely anxious now to finish my trip and get home. Still I have found much to amuse and instruct me. It is Court week, when all the people old and young, men and women assemble in the county seat, and a rare time they have of it, be assured. Ashville is a great western thoroughfare. A fine turnpike is cut along side of the French Road which finds its way along a gap in these mountains. If I had time I would visit the warm springs about 30 miles on this road—the scenery is very imposing in this whole region.

Greenville, Saturday evening—[April 20]

I reached this lovely village of S. Carolina early this evening—It is a place of great resort in the summer and there are several beautiful country seats in the vicinity—belonging to rich gentlemen in Charleston.

I left Ashville on Friday morning, and very gladly too, for I tried in vain to get some kind of a conveyance to the Warm Springs, and the Hickory Nut gap, two natural curiosities well worth seeing. The evening previous, I spent with Judge Seawell,¹⁶⁸ one of the ablest judges in the state—We came only 27 miles the first day—The road would have been very tedious had it not been for my fellow travellers, consisting of an old bachelor, with a good deal of sly humor but very crafty and fishing for money—a young widow about 27 with some money if she ever gets out of the Law and quite a pretty simple hearted Buncombe Country lass of 18. . . .

We reached the end of our first days stage about 5—we passed on the way the Country seats of several wealthy lowlanders.

¹⁶⁸ Judge Henry Seawell (1774-1835) who was a judge of the State superior court and in public life and in politics for many years. His home was Raleigh. He was the friend of Judge Mangum although at one time Judge Mangum practically challenged him to a duel, basing his action on a misunderstanding of Judge Seawell's.

I got a horse immediately and rode out to the villa of Baring,¹⁶⁹ one of the rich bankers of London. It is situated on the side of an eminence about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the road, and commands a beautiful sweep of country for 20 miles in every direction. I never saw such a fine varied outline, as the Blue Ridge forms for his horizon. The grounds are laid out in the English style, everything is after the English model. A greater part of the furniture, and the ornaments, the alabaster &c &c were brought from England. The chairs, tables, are rosewood and I saw the finest bed that I ever met with. The curtains and hangings were of the finest camels hair, and the bed and pillows filled with the softest down—the material was the richest mahogany and the coverings of the best & finest linens etc.

The library consisted of upwards of a 1000 books of the best English binding and print and editing—The walls are very tastefully hung round with pictures and engravings, and every room has something very splendid.

Mr. Baring and Lady had not yet arrived from the South, which I very much regretted as they are proverbially courteous and hospitable to strangers. Mr. Pierson the overseer was very polite.

Our ride today was delightful, though very slow, as we had the team of yesterday and the distance was 40 miles. The passage through the Saluda Gap, by which we crossed the Blue Ridge, is made by running the road along the side of the mountain. You cant imagine anything more delightful than the appearance of the forests—the light tender green of most of the trees, the dark evergreen of the pine, the holly, with the

¹⁶⁹ A letter from the late Lord Cromer, dated October 17, 1916, states that the person alluded to "was evidently Charles Baring (1775-1864), who was the grandson of John Baring (1697-1748), whose fourth son was Charles Baring (1742-1829). The latter married a Miss Gould. The Charles Baring to whom you allude, and who, as I have already mentioned, died in 1864, married (1) Mrs. Heywood; (2) a daughter of Commander Dent, R. N. His son, Alexander, born 1848, was in the Royal Navy, and married Louise, daughter of Mr. E. King. He lived for some years in America, probably in Carolina."

snow white blossoms of the dogwood and other flowering shrubs, with the ever varying outline of the Hills, formed a rare sight. I cant see a manifest change in the vegetation this side of the Blue Ridge—here it is mid-spring, there the tender germs of the forest trees are just starting.

Greenville is a great *Union* district, but the Nullifiers are seen here with their badges on their hats. Everything I hear confirms me in the belief that some of the leaders in the late excitement still contemplate a disunion of the states and the formation of a great Southern Confederacy. The politicians are beginning to agitate the slave-question, and irritating the morbid sensibilities of the South upon that point. These southern Nabobs would as soon part with life, as with the luxury of their slaves. They would die without them. * * *

Friday [April 19]

After much vexation I was obliged to leave Asheville without visiting the warm springs, or Hickory Nut Gap—not being able to obtain a horse—Left in a miserable two horse concern—but an odd collection of passengers. A methodist cracked brained ex-parson—dashing young widow of easy virtue—quite a pretty country lass—who would allow all of the familiarity of Buncombe County which is all a man wants—and a crusty old Bachelor— * * *

Judge Sewall is very familiar with the Bar, but dictatorial in his manner at times—motley crowd—the jury seemed to have no opinions of their own—was introduced to Judge Sewall this evening—gave me reasons which account in some measure for the great increase of the negro over the white, and that is the immense emigration of the poor whites to the West—question which I must examine—

Judge likes to cut short long speeches by tart replys—swear to a lie, he says the people in this region will—very clear headed man—Lawyers are rather indifferent men—I feel quite pokerish in this region—

Record of the indictments stolen—and the books torn up—the

Judge and Lawyers inveterate smokers—the Judge hair is white as snow and his face very red—

Left for Chewville 63 miles—

Very fine breakfast—the Landlady put us up, some biscuit and boiled ham for our dinner—this was very kind and very provident, as there proved to be no house of entertainment on the way.

The driver took up his sweetheart on the way out to the box with him—bought a few swallows of milk and paid a 4 pence for it—Never was so beset with questions in my life—I had the question put to me direct, who are you, where are you from etc. etc.

Greenville, S. Carol. Sunday—[April 21]

Have walked all over the place there is so much forest growth before the neat white residences of the wealthy inhabitants, that the summer months must be delightful here—water fall—brought no letters to this place, which I very much regret—beautiful dwellings—forest scenery—falls or rather cascades—Saw several merchants—was afraid the disaster of the country had but just commenced—the slavery question is to be agitated—the leaders are irritating the public mind on that subject—The meeting house with windows broken out—looked as though the broken panes had been papered—

Took the stage to Pendleton—reached there about 7—found I could not leave again till this Friday—too long time—found no letter to Mr. Calhoun from Fisher as I anticipated—took the stage this morning at 4—found myself with a young Lady with very black eyes—delicate looking—dressed in black riding habit, with black beads to which was appended a black ebony cross, which Jews might kiss and Infidels adore for the sake of the owner—a nephew, a bright eyed nephew of hers—and an old, lean servant who abused the English language most outrageously—

Augusta, April 25, 1833.

My Dear Brother.

I wrote you last from the beautiful village of Greenville,

added a postscript at Pendleton and dropped it into the office at Abbeville. I went over to Pendleton expecting to spend two days there in visiting J. C. Calhoun and the Natural Curiosity, Table rock, which is a bold precipice 1100 ft. perpendicular height on two sides, I presume the greatest curiosity in that whole country. But I found when I reached there that I should not be able to leave in 5 days, and time was too precious to do that. I therefore took the stage for Augusta the next morning, at four o'clock. From Pendleton I had as company, a Miss Ogier ¹⁷⁰ and her nephews. She proved to be a most interesting as well as beautiful Lady. Like most Southern Ladies her eyes were bright black. She had travelled over France and England and visited nearly state in the Union. Her mind is of the highest order and she has received a through as well as accomplished education. She is a Catholic and wore a beautiful wrought cross about her neck, which Jews might kiss and Infidels adore for the owners sake. She only about 19. but in delicate health. Had it not been for her, I should have died of Blue devils, for over such roads I have not travelled of late, as those to this place. We were in a two horse stage, and each team was drove 80 miles in two of the hottest days we have yet had. The stage broke down six miles out of Abbeville, so we had to pry up and put in *rail* springs—We started from Abbeville, which is a beautiful little village at 1 in the morning, and rode until 10 o'clock at night, making but one stop at dinner, except delays in mud holes—prying out and mending traces.

If I had any inclination to extend my visit far into the South, my said experience would effectually cure me of it, to tell the truth I am very anxious to get back again among my friends.

The parted bosom clings to wonted home

While ought of kindred cheers the welcome hearth.

Augusta is a very beautiful place—the great street of the city is the widest I have ever seen and is adorned with several blocks

¹⁷⁰ Miss Ogier of Charleston has not been indentified. Can the name be a phonetic spelling of Huger?

of brick stores which would show to advantage even in New York. A deep gloom and embarrassment rests upon the city at this time, owing to the failure of one of their banks and of some of its most substantial business men. The scarlet fever has carried mourning into many families. This fever is a novel disease in the southern states and the physicians don't know how to handle it.

The streets of A. are planted with the China tree, which has a very bright green leaf. It is preeminently settled with Northern men and Irish men—but few native Georgians are in business here. I found a classmate here Robert Clarke,¹⁷¹ who hailed me like a brother and treated me with great kindness—We rode out to the U. States Arsenal, where there are 20,000 stand of arms. This arsenal, it was suspected, the Nullifiers intended to possess themselves of, in order to facilitate their *pacific* purpose of breaking up the Union, for that, that was their end I have no doubt, and I am by no means satisfied but what that is their intention now. The morbid sensibility of the South on the subject of slavery can't be conceived by those who have not visited this part of the country—and the leading Nullifiers are alarming the fears of the people, by charging upon the North a disposition to unsettle this question. Near the arsenal which is 3 miles out of A. are the residences of the wealthy citizens. The houses are very small, about as large as Wordsworth cottage and are embowered in shrubbery and a small thick leaved oak. I noticed several kinds of roses in thick blossom, as well as various other flowers.

Gov. Forsyth, Mr. Wilde, have seats there. The houses are very small but neat, and embowered in woods and shrubbery. We also visited a fine spring of water, from which the city is supplied. This evening I took tea with Clarke at his brothers—a rich merchant in Augusta. To-day at dinner with Mr. G[oulds]¹⁷² there were 5 kinds of wine on the table.

¹⁷¹ Robert Clarke (A. B., Yale College, 1830) (1800-1860).

¹⁷² William Tracy Gould (1799-1882) (A. B., Yale College, 1816). Settled in Augusta in 1823 and was judge of the City Court there 1851-66.

Thursday evening—[April 25]

I have spent the greater part of the day in calling etc.—one person and another. I expected to have left for Savannah, but the boat did not leave on account of some slight repairs to the machinery. It is nearly 300 miles by water, double the distance by land, but I have had such frightful experiences in Land carriage, that I will, try steam boating for a while although I know it is very tedious. We shall start early in the morning.

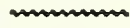
Near the arsenal also is a fine spring which wells out a living stream of fine water, which is carried into the city by pipes. The State House is a very decent edifice, located in the centre of a beautiful green, thickly grown with trees. There is a fine engraving of it in the Hinton's Views in America. The land around Augusta is poor, and the whole distance to Savannah I am told presents an unbroken sweep of worn out fields and pine barrens.

I brought letters here to a son of Judge Gould of Litchfield, who is married and is practicing Law here. He is elected member of the State Convention which meets in a few weeks to revise their constitution. Were I not in haste to get home, I would spend a week at the capital of the State, in studying these hot headed Georgians. They are full as mad as S. Carolinians.

I should have stated that I saw the Nullification badge very frequently in S. C. that is the blue cockade and the small palmetto batton. The Union badge is an American Eagle, mounted upon black with a small tassell.

I commenced this letter in Augusta and will finish it on my way to Savannah. I spent two days in Augusta, and went aboard the John Stoney yesterday evening, but did not leave the wharf till this morning at 4. We had not proceeded 12 miles down the river, before the boilers gave away, and we were obliged to lay by 5 hours till the leak could be stopped. We got under way again about 12, have now brought up for the night about 50 miles from Augusta, and nearly 200 from Savannah. It is considered dangerous to run in the night. I

assure you I am tired to death of this miserable way of traveling at the South. There are but two passengers beside myself aboard—one is a member of the Union Convention, who has given me important information respecting the State of parties in S. C.—The other is a Yankee, who is about starting a cotton factory in Georgia. He says the South is beginning to turn its attention to this business, and can succeed very well at it too. The country is full of fine water power, and the young negroes can be very profitably employed in this way while they now are a great expense to their owners. If this should be the case, there will be a great overturn of the constitutionality of the Tariff.

The Savannah river is not the beautiful river the name would imply. It is very muddy—yellow colored and finds its way to the ocean by winding like the serpent, its course is something like this 

The banks are for the greater part of the way thickly covered with trees—you can have no idea of the richness and luxuriousness of the foliage at this season of the year before the heat of the Southern sun, has scorched and emgrowned it. The banks of the river are very low and at this time, nearly level with the water. It is so unhealthy on its banks in the summer, that there are no towns, no residences for whites, nothing but an occasional log-cabin for the miserable blacks the whole distance. You will now and then notice a bank of oyster shells, of immense size, and high & lifted up above present tide water. They must have been once at the bottom of the ocean and were raised by some volcano, or convulsion.

Friday night April 26th Somewhere between
Augusta, Savannah, S. Carolina and Georgia.

My Dear Sir—

Here I am benighted or bedeviled on board the John Stoney, somewhere between Augusta and Savannah. I came aboard this Boat last night with the expectation of reaching Savannah a day at least earlier than the regular packet Boat—in order that

I might have the pleasure of spending that time with your own merry self. But as delays are dangerous, and as we have spent 2 hours this morning in repairing damage done to the boiler (there was no burst however) and are now anchored in the real primitive style of travelling, to repair the exhausted engines of the machinery till daylight comes back to us,—it is possible that a succession of delays may cheat me of the anticipated pleasure of seeing you. I will at all events assure you of my good intentions. I am on my way back to that good

Old State, whence pedlers come

With wooden nutmegs and New England rum,

after a tour of some months through the Land of pine barrens and Nullifiers. After experiencing divers upsets and breakdowns—floundering in mudholes and swimming rivers—enjoying a perpetual feast of hospitality and kindness—dazzled with the flashing of bright eyes and bewildered with the rattle of empty heads—and being pretty much used up with a few days of hot weather—I am returning to the North to heal my bones and—my heart. * * *

Savannah River—

Gov. Hamilton,¹⁷³ man of very popular manners—went into every corner of the State—visited the people in their log cabins—inquired after the sick—etc. etc.—laughed and joked with everybody—McDuffie a store in Augusta—unfitted for it—constantly reading—take down the goods, then to his books—

Luxuriant richness of the forest trees—muddy rivers—low banks—serpentine course—called a country of rain and wild flowers—delayed 5 hours to repair damages—Left Augusta in order to gain time but find I shall lose—hold up this evening cant run—Gov. Ham. said that in 1836 the Union must be broken up—They are trying to agitate the slave question.

¹⁷³ Gov. James Hamilton (1786-1857), Representative from South Carolina 1821-29, Governor 1830-32.

Sunday. Savannah. [April 28]

We were again detained last night by leakage of the boiler—and to our mortification the Mungen whipped by us in fine style. The Mungen left 3 hours after us. However we reached this city about 1 hour in advance of her. If I had come in [her] I should have had the pleasure of Miss Ogier company—

Beaufort, S. C. April 30th 1833.

My Dear Brother.

I closed my last letter immediately on my arrival at Savannah. It is beautifully situated on a terrace quite elevated above the waters of the river and its streets are planted so thick with the Pride of China that its small dark houses are hardly seen. The city is very regularly laid out and open areas are planted with the above fragrant tree and are quite frequent. The city could never be seen to better advantage than while I was there. The weather was not very warm—the gardens are filled with flowers, especially with a variety of roses—the Pride of China is in full bloom, which fills the air with the most delightful odor, especially at morning and evening, when it is damp—the splendid Magnolia, which flourishes in the low meadow lands, was occasionally putting forth its large white flower etc, etc. I should have been delighted to have staid longer at Savannah—but gentlemen to whom I had letters were absent, and time is very precious with me now—I feel a hunger and a thirst to get home.

I left yesterday morning for this place 80 miles distant, where I expected to have seen Edmund Smith ¹⁷⁴ a classmate of mine—but I was disappointed. He is now in Charleston. However I spent the evening delightfully at his mother's and was served with the most delicious luxury I ever met with, and that was a dish holding 4 or 5 quarts of large, ripe *strawberries*, a dish of sweet cream and a bowl of fine white sugar. I never tasted anything so very fine. They have had strawberries for

¹⁷⁴ Edmund Smith (Rhett) (A. B., Yale College, 1830) (1803-1863), practiced law and later served in the Confederate army.

3 weeks. I should have said that pears were served up at dinner in Savannah and on board the boat yesterday. I got up early on Monday morning and went to Market. I there saw in the greatest abundance green pears—new potatoes, (rather small) beets, turnips etc. etc.—blackberries and strawberries, of the latter I made a purchase and ate them on the spot, not thinking that I should have such a luxury as I was blessed with in the evening of the same day. This is the first time in my life, that I have tasted of strawberries and green peas in April.

Beaufort is a beautiful place—very quiet,—no commercial business going on here—but planters whose estates lie among the islands—the famous Sea Island cotton plantations, have their plantations here. These plantations yield an enormous income. Several planters in this district enjoy a fortune from 10-70000 a year, and yet they complain of hard times. The district of Beaufort is probably the richest in the U. States, excepting the great commercial cities. The climate in the winter season is delightful, resembling that of the South of France.

I landed yesterday afternoon with a Mr. Eddings,¹⁷⁵ a young wealthy planter, but very dissipated. He was very anxious that I should go out to his plantation, on an island 10 miles distant, and I partly agreed to,—But he got gloriously drunk before evening, and we parted in a very cavalier like manner. Fortunately he was no Nullifier or he would have blown my brains out without any ceremony.

The North is not disposed to give the Nullifiers of this State, sincerity in their threatenings to fight—for myself, judging from what I have seen—and heard from Union men and all, I have no doubt of that sincerity. They would have fought with the courage of desperation—It was their intention if things actually came to war, to fight as long as they could in the open fields—then if they were obliged to give way, to blow up their

¹⁷⁵ Mr. Eddings has not been identified.

cities, and retire to their marshes and swamps and carry on a "guerilla warfare." This would do in the winter, but in summer, a few nights would soon drive them from their lurking places or else sweep them into their graves.

The affair is not over yet however—that attachment to the Union which was once so universal, and so sacred, is gone, and I fear gone forever. It is the commonest thing in the world, to hear them speak of disunion—the certainty of its taking place in a few years. Unless a revolution in popular feeling takes place, I should not wonder if disunion does come, and in its train all the horrors of civil war and revolution.

I dont wonder that Jackson is so damnably unpopular here. The leading men of this State had the surest pledges that Jackson was with them in their views of the Constitution. Gov. Hamilton has got a letter in his possession at this time, in which Jackson expresses his approbation of his views of State Rights etc. etc. They were all assured that the Executive was with them. Hence it is not to be wondered at that their hatred to the old truant is so deep and bitter. 3 months ago if Jackson had ventured into this state he would have been shot or stabbed in a short time. Their hatred of him amounts to madness—it is only surpassed by their hatred of the d—d Yankees.

I have had today a visit from Albert Smith,¹⁷⁶ brother of Edmund, and a very hot headed Nullifier, he has gone over the whole matter with me. He too has got the notion that the North has a disposition to tamper with the slave question. He is a brother of Robert Barnwell Smith,¹⁷⁷ who made such violent speeches in the convention against the Union—

I hope to get letters from home at Charleston—I shall leave here this evening for that city.

¹⁷⁶ Albert Smith. Nothing of his career has been ascertained.

¹⁷⁷ Robert Barnwell (Smith) Rhett (1800-1876) at the time Attorney General of South Carolina.

Charleston Friday May 3rd 1833.

My Dear B—

I wrote you last from Beaufort, but had no opportunity to get it mailed till I reached this headquarters of Nullification. I got a conveyance from Beaufort 20 miles to a miserable place called Pocolitigo, where I took the Savannah and Charleston Mail Stage at 11 o'clock on Tuesday night—we rode all night and reached Charleston at 3 in the afternoon.

On the way we noticed several splendid Magnolias, and a great abundance of the Live Oak—the most splendid tree in the Southern Country with the exception perhaps of the Magnolia. It does not grow to a great height, but covers a wide circuit and is, as its name implies, durable and an evergreen. Its appearance in winter is so splendid as in summer. I wish I could describe to you some of the roses which I have seen nowhere else than here.

Charleston has but little to boast of in the way of fine buildings, or beautiful streets. The houses owing to the humid atmosphere, wore a very dirty and old appearance, the streets are narrow and sandy. You will be surprised to learn that King Street, the fashionable Promenade, is a narrow street, we have none in Hartford half as narrow. Yet along this street, beauty and fashion are to be seen every afternoon pouring along in their splendid equipages, or sweeping by on the walks in the most tastey dress. The ladies always ride without hats, and of course they are seen to as much advantage as in a Ball room. This is not the gay season of Charleston, and of course there but small parties, no balls, no routs etc. etc. Among others, I brought letters to Thos. Grimké¹⁷⁸ and Mr. Poinsett¹⁷⁹—I delivered them yesterday—and was very kindly received—I have invitations to dine with them on Saturday and Sunday. I dine to-day at Robert Barnwell Smith's, whose

¹⁷⁸ Thomas Smith Grimké (1786-1834) (A. B., Yale College, 1807), prominent in the advocacy of total abstinence, of peace, and of education.

¹⁷⁹ Joel R. Poinsett (1779-1851) Federalist, Representative from South Carolina 1821-25, Minister to Mexico 1825-29, Secretary of War 1837-41.

violent Nullification speeches you have seen in the paper. He is quite a young man, but of the brightest promise. He humbled the tone of the browbeating Hamilton in the Convention.

What was my surprise, you can imagine to stumble on our good friend, Alph S. Williams¹⁸⁰ in the streets of Charleston. I had as soon thought of seeing you. He is on his way to N. Orleans in company with a classmate of his from Philadelphia. From N. O. he proposes to go up the Miss. Ohio, across by Pittsburg to Phil. I told him he was mad to go to N. Orleans at this season, but there is no deterring him. I called on Dodd, found him well, George Dodd¹⁸¹ I found with him.

I met Franklin Robbins¹⁸² in the street, and called with him on Mr. Buckley¹⁸³—Mr. B. invited me to call on him. I called on Mrs. Barnard¹⁸⁴—I sent up my name, Henry Barnard from Hartford, and down she came expecting to see her brother Henry. You may judge of the agitation it threw her into. She is expecting to visit her friends at the North this summer—indeed intends to leave in the Steam Boat David Brown, on the 11th of this month, under the protection of the minister of her Parish, who is going to Albany to bring on an aged Mother to this city. I should be very happy to accompany her, but I had pretty much determined to return through the country. This will probably be the only opportunity I shall have to see this section of our country and I feel very anxious to improve it. * * *

Hired a horse from Beaufort, and gig to go to Pocotaligo—thought both would break down before I reached the end of my journey 22 miles—reached the place and found it was a mere store and postoffice—the postmaster gave me supper—and laid down on his bed with a throbbing headache and a heavy

¹⁸⁰ Alpheus S. Williams (A. B., Yale College, 1831) (1810-1878) later Major General of volunteers in the Civil War and Representative in Congress from Michigan.

¹⁸¹ George Dodd has not been identified.

¹⁸² Franklin Robbins has not been identified.

¹⁸³ Mr. Buckley of Charleston has not been identified.

¹⁸⁴ Mrs. Barnard has not been identified.

heart—the stage came along about 12 with 9 passengers etc. I filled the last seat—rode through a swamp a mile long—the air was full of the rank smell of vegetation—

Called on Smith last night—left my card—he called on me this morning—he appears as he formerly did, his countenance wears the pale cast of thought—told me about the culture and the introduction of rice, in this State—

Gov. Smith,¹⁸⁵ visited a captain who had lately come from the E. Indies—in the course of the visit, the captain showed him some seed which was given to him by the natives of Madagascar—Smith begged him for some of it—He gave it to him, not knowing it was of any value—the coming spring, he sowed a piece of marsh land, which was on his farm near where the Battery now is—to his astonishment it thrived—his neighbors did the same thing till its culture became very common—It was tried on the Uplands but does not succeed very well. Afterwards in the Lowlands swamp—by accident, it was found that the rice thrived all the better by being overflowed by water—strange expedient for securing the water in order that it may be deluged by it—Afterwards the tide was diked out, and now the finest lands in the world are found on the Savannah and Santee Rivers,—The ground is prepared by hoeing—planted a foot apart—watered and hoed just after it is up—water it—again and thoroughly weeded—

Saturday [May 4]

Took breakfast with Mr. Grimke—he was dressed very plainly—gave me quite a cordial reception—there is a child like simplicity in his manners—walked in his garden plucked several beautiful roses and gave me—fond of sculpture which Robert Morris had executed for his house, before he broke—Fine Fig tree in his garden—quite a variety of flowers and plants—a very arbor over hung with vines. Salmon and rice cake—cocoa and tea—uttered a profound remark—wished Burke had written a history of Society—Burke and McIntosh on the French Revolution ought to be studied in college—

¹⁸⁵ Thomas Smith, Landgrave, Governor of South Carolina 1693-1694.

The study of the Bible gives the history of Society in earlier ages—the profound and nearsighted singularity of the Jesuits—in excluding from their systems of education every thing which would bring the mind to think of religion—confined to languages and mathematics—

The revivification of Charleston College owing to the establishment of a flourishing academy by Bishop England ¹⁸⁶—

Charleston Sunday May 5th 1833.

My Dear Brother—

I mailed a letter for you yesterday or rather on Friday. Friday I dined with Robert Barnwell Smith, the fierce Nullifier—he is a man of great energy of mind and was very explicit in his views and opinions. He told me that it was the intention of the Nullifiers to seize the arsenal at Augusta and that some weak head let it out. After dinner which was very splendid and the wine was through, Edmund Smith and myself walked, over to the Citadel where the State at this time have their arms—It has a guard of 60 men parading about in the citadel after the manner of Uncle Sam's troops. We went to the Orphan Asylum, an institution which is a great honor to the State visited the oldest church in the State, built in 1737. In the grave yard which is attached to it, lie buried some of the greatest men of the nation—the Marions, the Pinckneys etc. etc. of the revolution. I went also on to the ground where the first rice was planted in America—the history of its introduction is very curious and interesting—

I took tea at Mr. Mintzing (?) ¹⁸⁷ the brother in law of Mr. B. Tea in this part of the country is always passed around—You never sit down to a table in the course of the evening. Ice cream and wines are served round—I spent a very delightful evening there—She has two very pretty children indeed Horace and Louisa. They are very bright and promising.

¹⁸⁶ Rt. Rev. John England (1786-1842) first Roman Catholic Bishop of South Carolina.

¹⁸⁷ Mr. Mintzing? has not been identified.

She is quite anxious that I should take the Boat or Ship with her on Saturday next.

On my return I found a very polite invitation from Thos. S. Grimke to come and take a family breakfast with him—his family are all in the country at this time.

Yesterday morning I went down at eight—after walking in his garden which is full of beautiful flowers and rare plants, we sat at breakfast table near $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9. His conversation was a perpetual feast—the breakfast was very pleasant—broiled salmon, rice cake and broiled rice—and chocolate and tea. He is you know, one of the most distinguished men in S. Carolina.

After breakfast I took a walk out to a rice mill—the rice when it is gathered is covered like oats, with a thick, close, red husk—This is put into a mortar like, upon which a pestle iron shod, is kept constantly playing—then by a process, the rice is fanned and assorted etc. etc. The power is created by steam.

Went on to the top of St. Michael's Church. It commands a very fine panoramic view of the city and the islands, and country around. The green foliage forms quite a repose to the eye. Sullivan's Island 6 miles distant looks very beautiful in the distance, I am in hopes to visit it tomorrow, as well as Castle Pinckney.

Yesterday afternoon Mr. Pringle's ¹⁸⁸ son called and took me in his carriage all around the city. We rode about two hours—after that I took tea at his father's—His father you know is Collector of the Port and a more fearless man I never met with. He is one of the most respected men in the city. Mrs. Pringle is a woman of accomplished manners, and Miss Pringle is quite a belle.

I acquitted myself so much to their satisfaction that they solicited the pleasure of my company to tea to-morrow evening, Mr. Livingston from N. York is boarding at this house (Mrs. Courtney in Broad St.) and anxious that I would arrange matters so as to return to N. York with him—but he will go too

¹⁸⁸ John Julius Pringle (1753-1843).

quick for me. I want to see men and things as it will be my only time.

This house is frequented by several Northern gentlemen—I found a Dr. Cooke,¹⁸⁹ who married Wolcotts daughter, and who has been travelling for his health, and by the way my own health has not been so good for the last 4 years—I have experienced nothing of the headache and my cheeks have but little of the pale and sickly hue which has been attributed to them. I think this trip has been of infinite service to me in that respect. In fact you can't estimate the value of health, and if I retain mine—I shall be able to accomplish more than I have for 2 years past, in 6 months.

I went to meeting this morning with Mrs. Barnard, and spent the afternoon with Mr. Bissell¹⁹⁰ over the dinner table. I shall take tea with Mrs. Pringle. . . .

Charleston May 9th 1833.

My Dear B.

I have pretty much determined to take the Steam Boat David Brown on Saturday. I have passed my time very pleasantly indeed. I went over to Sullivan's Island on Monday—it is 6 miles from the city—the island is a sand bank—covered with the Palmetto, formerly known as the *Cabbage* tree, and the chosen emblem of Nullification—it is full of summer residences, and the beach toward the sea is splendid, hard and smooth—It forms one of the finest drives and walks in the evening you can well imagine.

The fort is now in pretty good state of preservation and defense—Considerable work was done upon it during Nullification times—but two companies are stationed there now. Major Wordeman¹⁹¹ is the commandant of the station—I took a letter to him from Mr. Poinsett. I took dinner on Tuesday at Mr.

¹⁸⁹ Dr. Cooke who married Wolcott's daughter has not been identified

¹⁹⁰ Mr. Bissel has not been identified.

¹⁹¹ Major Wordeman has not been identified.

Grimke with a small party—and tea the same evening with my classmate Burden.¹⁹²

I took tea last evening with Mrs. Pringle—I was treated most cordially in that family, which you know is one of the most respectable in the city.

There is a great deal of sensitiveness on the subject of slavery in this part of the country—It has been strengthened by the proposition in the British Parliament to Emancipate all the slaves in the British West Indies. The injudicious publications at the North, give some color to the charge, that we are disposed to interfere with the domestic relations of the South. I am convinced if that suspicion should become general there would be a unanimous rallying on the part of the South. A convention of the Slave holding States would be held, and the question of Union be agitated and decided positively.—

It is the opinion of the many distinguished men here that S. Carolina has suffered more from the operation of Nullification, than she ever did or could from the Tariff.

The mail will close soon—I have only to say if I do not take the David Brown on Saturday you will hear from me somewhere in the Blue Ridge, Va. I am determined not to leave this section of the Country unseen, as it is my last chance.

Charleston, May 11th 1833.

My Dear Brother—

This day is fixed for my departure—but what will be the mode of my Egress I cant say, whether by water or by land—and if by water, whether in the Steam Boat or in the Brig Lara for Old Point Comfort. You will hear of the result either from N. York or Norfolk.

I spend my time principally in visiting and calling on men whose opinions may be valuable. I dined yesterday with my classmate Burden—his father is a planter and lives in the healthy season on one of the neighboring Islands—He had not

¹⁹² Thomas Legare Burden (A. B., Yale College, 1830) (1812-1854) practiced law and later medicine in the neighborhood of Charleston.

yet moved his family to the city—of course he keeps bachelor's Hall—But he served up a grand dinner to a small party—first came a calves head stew as soup—then fish fried or boiled—roast veal and ducks, with Irish and Sweet potatoes—boiled rice (an article of which you can form no opinion from what we ordinarily meet with in the North) and fine bread—peas and beets—turnips and salad. Then came the desert—another fruit—fine large oranges—pineapple—plantain and bananas (tropical fruits which I have never seen at the North but which resemble the richest pear in flavor)—apples—raisons and almonds—prunes and ground nuts and to wash down the whole or each the finest claret, sherry and maderia wine.

We adjourned a little after 7 after taking a good cup of coffee—I called on Mr. Buckley with Dodd—and afterwards on Mrs. Barnard. Mrs. B. will sail this afternoon at 3 for N. York in the Steam Boat.

Charleston Harbor.

Monday Night—

I made an attempt in the Brig Laura on Saturday at 1 o'clock to make my escape from Charleston—The wind has been blowing for near two weeks from the North East, and of course is unfavorable to vessels getting out of this Harbor. We beat down to the bar about 12 miles from the city, but found the water too low to pass—of course we came back and anchored in the Road—5 miles from the city, very much to my mortification. It was provoking, and yet a grand sight, to see the Steam Boat David Brown, sweep by us against the wind, against the tide with her eighty passengers on board. As we turned our bows to the city how bitterly did I regret that I had not taken passage aboard of her but it was too late, there she was puffing and blowing a mere speck in the far off distance. Before this reaches you, or even it goes to the office, you will hear, I hope, of her safe arrival in N. York. Mrs. Barnard is in her, with her children. She is a very superior woman—and you must do what you can to make her stay agreeable. But to myself—We lay in this spot surrounded by some 30 or 40 sails in the same predicament

as ourselves, till yesterday noon—We moved up nearer the city, and I spent the evening with Burden—if I could have got my trunk I would quit for good. I came aboard this morning at 5—and as soon as the pilot boarded us, off we started for the Bar—but here again we could not get out—so we anchored just inside the Bar, and such a sickening time you can imagine—As for myself I stood it like an old seaman—feeling a little qualmish now and then but that was all, saving the vexation of the delay—at 3 the wind blew so strong the rain fell so fast, and the coming night looked so threatening, that the pilot thought it was not safe to attempt getting out, and we again dropped into this comparatively quiet anchorage ground. The night is very black and thick and it is well that we did not succeed in getting out. I have at this time no fancy for encountering a storm. I shall send this letter ashore by the pilot as soon as we make our clearance over the Bar—and will write you the first land I make—

Tuesday morning—

We are careering gloriously through the waters this morning—a fine breeze has sprung up from the west and if we are in time for the tide, we shall be at Old Point Comfort in a few days—This letter will go with the pilot.

It is most glorious sailing—there are more than 40 sail glancing by in directions.

I must go up and enjoy the sight. . . .

Old Point Comfort May 17th 1833.

My Dear Brother.

Here I am again on the firm earth, after 6 days experience of head winds—no winds—heavy swells and hard blows. I sent a letter by the Pilot, which you have probably received ere this—we were there on the eve of crossing the Bar. We had a fine wind—the sea dashed proudly yet fearfully in breakers over the shoals and we passed onto the bosom of the Great Deep in fine style. Nearly all were sick, however. The same favorable wind hurried us over the waters till about 4 in the afternoon—it then began to slacken and before morning died away

in a perfect calm. The sea was rolling about in consequence of the late Easterly winds, and our Brig was constantly making its drunken, sickening lurches, which was quite stomach stirring. It did not however raise me to the vomiting point. We had 12 passengers. The cabin was small, and my berth was too short by a foot. The fare was miserable. But to my "log." Wednesday about 3 P. M. a fresh breeze sprung up in our beam, and we [were] careening over the waters most gaily—Towards morning as the wind seemed to slaken the Captain altered our course for the Gulf Stream, in order if we were calmed, we might have the benefit of the current which you know is between 2 or 3 knots per hour. In the forenoon it was almost a dead calm but about noon the wind freshened till it blew almost a gale—The Brig bowed before the swelling canvas, and the sea rolled right grandly around us. It was a glorious sight to see the heavy seas break in emerald and snow upon the deck. It had not entered into my mind to conceive the grandeur of the sea by night. The Brig seemed to be moving in a field of light. The waves as they were dashed away from our prow, seemed to fall in a shower of light upon the waters: and as they broke a little way from the ship, their tops seemed tipped with fire.

Last evening we passed Cape Hatteras, far away to the West—its locality was distinctly marked by a black cloud that lowered over it. About 10 this morning we descried land between Cape Hatteras and Henry—about 3 we made Cape Henry—we were becalmed off its point—the breaking of the surf upon its beach came with a fearful and ominous distinctness to our ears and the sight of a wrecked schooner high and dry upon the shore did not heighten the beauty of the scene. We came slowly up the Bay and were landed from the Brig about 8 this evening and here I am in a very comfortable Hotel scrawling off this note—To-morrow morning after surveying the fortress and paying my respects to Black Hawk, I will finish this sheet—

Good night. My head is swimming yet, and I seem to tread upon the unsteady deck of the Brig.

Saturday.

After breakfast I called on Col. Eustice,¹⁹³ the commandant of this station, to whom I had letters from Mr. Poinsett. He treated me very politely introduced me to several of the officers—one of whom went with me over the whole fortress—it is a stronghold, indeed—It encloses an area of 70 acres and is constructed of the toughest granite. It is to be guarded by 360 guns and when well manned, will require 5000 soldiers—Fort Calhoun is a mile directly out—The foundation you know is made by throwing in large masses of granite. The work is suspended awhile, till the foundation has become more settled. It will be mounted with near 300 guns—In the course of our survey we called at the room where Black Hawk—the Prophet—three sons and two other Indians are housed. Black Hawk¹⁹⁴ took my hand most cordially, as well as his sons—He and his sons have fine open countenances—open—with the peculiar features of their faces not very distinctly marked—Black Hawk says the Whites, when they crowd in to gaze on him, are like mosquitos, in summer time, as numerous and annoying. They were all very much struck with the strength of the Fortress. They appear to be pretty well contented—that is, as well as a well fed eagle caged—His countenance however betrays no emotion—Two of them were playing cards the first time I went in—the rest were lounging on their beds with the exception of Black Hawk, who never loses himself in that way. People are constantly flocking in to gaze on the warrior, whose name has spread such terror through the hearts of Western Mothers.

Sully the portrait painter has been taking their likenesses—they were very much displeased at that.

Norfolk, Sunday—

I came up to this place in the afternoon—called on Dr.

¹⁹³ Col. Eustice was probably Col. Abraham Eustis.

¹⁹⁴ Black Hawk (1767-1838) he had been defeated and taken prisoner in the war which bears his name, on August 27, 1832. He was confined in Fortress Monroe until June 8, 1833.

Selden insisted upon my going to a wedding party with him in the evening—and so indeed I did, and was there ushered into a room crowded with beauty—Norfolk you know is famous for its pretty girls, and here was the flower of them. The party assembled about nine and broke up soon after eleven—ice cream strawberries—cherries—cakes of every variety—lemonade—wine—cordials etc. etc. were in constant circulation—about eleven the party assembled round the table in the dining hall—which was loaded with fruits etc. etc. I enjoyed myself mightily—I shall call on Mr. Tazewell to-day to whom I have a letter from Mr. Grimke. If I go out to the Nat. Bridge, I shall take the Boat to-night for Richmond. Accidents excepted I shall be in Hartford in 12 days.

Richmond May 21st 1833

My Dear Brother

I addressed you a few lines from Norfolk on Sunday—I attended a wedding party, as I think I informed you on Saturday—The Miss Smith, of whom I made mention as peculiarly a beautiful lady, I have understood since, is accounted *the* beauty of Va. I dined on Sunday at Dr. Selden's when I again met Miss S. I was very much disposed to remain longer in Norfolk, in part to see Mr. Tazewell, to whom I had letters and who was absent from the city. But at 7 o'clock I went aboard the Patrick Henry, and the next morning I was in Petersburg. I expected to have been landed at Jamestown, and so visited Williamsburg and Yorktown—two spots intimately connected with the History of this State and the whole country—But the Captain was obstinate. I passed Shirley with regret that I could not see that superior Lady, Mrs. Carter, and her polite and hospitable husband.

I glided like a ghost into Mr. Campbell's doors, but was received with the same home like kindness, with which I was before treated. Mr. and Mrs. Campbell were quite well—Miss Betty had been quite indisposed but was very much better—Alexander was as brighteyed, laughter loving, laughter creating

lad as ever. I called on Mr. Robbins—found them all quite well there—took tea there—have got letters for Uncle's family—say as much to them if you please and add that I expect to stretch my lazy length on their old sofa soon. In the evening I took the stage for Richmond and judge of my pleasure in having Mr. Ruffin ¹⁹⁵ a companion on the way. Mr. R is a very superior man. He is about publishing an agricultural Journal, which I have no doubt will be of essential service to this Southern country.

We reached Eagle Hotel about 2 in the morning—and after thundering at every door till we awoke the neighborhood, we at length effected an entrance. In the morning Mr. R. introduced me to several gentlemen—I found my old friend Dr. Cooke, ¹⁹⁶ who took me to see what was interesting, the large flour mills in one of which 10 run of stone will soon be in operation, turning out about 600 barrels of flour per day—a nail factory etc. etc. Richmond looks ten times more interesting now than it did when I was here before. The scenery around is of the highest order of beauty—picturesque—woodland water &c etc, a rare combination of hill, water and woodland. But my former discription was sufficiently minute.

I was sorry to find that Judge Marshall ¹⁹⁷ was absent from Richmond. I found Gov. Floyd ¹⁹⁸ at home—he is as black as Indian, with a gaunt figure—speaks low and with great slowness—but full of easy and interesting talk—toasted Nullification as the rightful remedy, in as fine a glass of wine as I have tasted lately. etc. etc. I met several gentlemen there. Gov. Floyd leaves town to-morrow—expressed a desire to see me again etc. etc.

¹⁹⁵ Edmund Ruffin, the best agriculturist of his day, edited "Farmers' Register," published in Petersburg, wrote a valuable book on "Calcareous Manures" in his old age. Fired first shot on Fort Sumter in 1861, lived in Prince George's County.

¹⁹⁶ Dr. Cooke has not been identified.

¹⁹⁷ Chief Justice John Marshall.

¹⁹⁸ John Floyd (1783-1837) Democratic Representative 1817-29, Governor 1829-34.

Spent the evening with Mr. Ruffin at Mrs. Warrell,¹⁹⁹ who has a very interesting daughter—she plays and sings delightfully. It is now late I will finish this scrawl in the morning.

Wednesday Evening—

After breakfast I walked about the city seeing etc. etc. at 10 I started in company with Dr. Cooke to make some morning calls on some of his Virginia belles. So in the course of 3 hours I was introduced to some dozen of the finest Ladies in Richmond. I will tell you more about them when I return. I shall leave here in the morning for Charlottesville—visit the Nat. Bridge—Weirs Cave—pass the Valley of the Shenandoah to Harpers Ferry and hurry home.

I am getting *out* at the elbows, and that more essential part the *purse*. So you may look for me in a fortnight. . . .

University of Va. Charlottesville May 25th

My Dear Brother

I left Richmond on Tuesday morning at 3 o'clock and reached this seat of the University at 11 in the night—

It was a very unpleasant day, and the roads were exceptionally bad. Indeed if I had remained a day longer I should not have been able to reach this place in two days, as some of the streams have been rendered impassible by the rains. I have been kept within the walls of the University by the incessant rains. The university buildings are situated on a beautiful eminence, a mile and half from the centre of the village and 3 miles from Monticello, the seat of Mr. Jefferson. It consists of a beautiful range of buildings, built on a hollow square—with a splendid Edifice at one end called the Rotunda—the Capitals were bought in Italy and cost a 1000 dollars each—parallel with this upper range, is a lower range of the same style of buildings—The Professors with their families reside in the college buildings. The students board in the college at what is called the Hotel. I took several meals with them—they bolt

¹⁹⁹ Mrs. Warrell has not been identified.

down their meals as fast as the cadets at Middletown ever did. What should you think of young men bearing the names of our country's distinguished sons, *playing* at marbles—I thought it was something new in the literary way. The students study no text books—hear lectures and are examined on them.

The students do not attend prayers—but the bell rings at 5 in the morning for them to get up and a monitor goes round once a week and if he find them in bed reports them to Board of the Faculty. They are a set of pretty wild fellows generally—principally from Va.—the fact that no religious exercises were introduced into the University here hurt its standing in the community. The students now employ a chaplain to preach to them once every Sunday.

Sunday Evening.

This morning an hour before sunrise started off on foot for Monticello, 2½ miles distant. I was anxious to see the sunrise from the Hill—Monticello is one of the spurs of the Blue Ridge, and descended to Mr. J. from his ancestors. He however constructed the present edifice, which is full of little visionary contrivances of which I will tell you more particularly when I get home. Mr. Jefferson you know had the apex of the mountain cut down 3 or 4 ft. But to return, I reached the top of the mountain about sunrise—the sun looked like a ball of fire as it emerged into the misty gloom which was overspread—but soon its ineffectual rays were not able to penetrate it—and the whole prospect in every direction was enshrouded in gloom—I expected to have looked at the prospect and returned to town before breakfast, but here I was fixed—So I sent in a very diplomatic note, accompanying some letter of introduction which I had not as yet delivered. This had the desired effect—Dr. Barclay,²⁰⁰ who is the present proprietor of the estate, and for which he only paid 7,000 dollars, invited me, showed everything about the house—pressed me to take breakfast with him, introduced me to his wife, and his wife's sister and another

²⁰⁰ Dr. Barclay purchased Monticello from the Jefferson estate.

young Lady—But the worst of it was, I did not expect to see any company so I went in dishabille, in my worst toilet (and my best dress is now in a very low estate)—I was in rather a sorry plight, but that did not damp the warmth of their hospitality and kindness.

Soon after breakfast the mist began to disappear, and the top of the highest mountain began to emerge out of the floating sea of gloom—O it was a grand sight to see the mist roll up from the side of the mountain and gradually unfold a more glorious landscape than was ever exhibited in any scenic representation. On the North and West the eye ranges along the Blue Ridge for more than 100 miles, its nearest approach is within 20 miles. The range is composed of every variety of form—on the other side a fine champaign country is outspread like a map and which is limited only by the imperfectness of the eye. The grounds are planted with variety of forest tree—the present proprietor is now cultivating the mulberry, and the silk worm.—In the course of the forenoon we, that is the Ladies and myself made an excursion onto the garden—here were fine beds of Strawberries (I forget whether I have mentioned the fact, but I have had strawberries for dinner in every place since I left Savannah) and numerous trees of ripe cherries, black hearts and red hearts. The garden is very extensive and the end of it reposes the remains of Jefferson. There is as yet no monument erected over him, the author of the Declaration of Independence needs no monument.

When the bell for morning service at the University came floating up the mountain, I could not but contrast even the beautiful rotunda with the immense temple in which I stood.

How poorly did its made by hand well proportioned dome—its exquisitely wrought capital, and its well proportioned parts, contrast with this glorious temple in which I stood and which the Spirit of the Universe had reared for its own presence—whose sunless pillars were sunk deep in earth by his creative word, and whose asure arch was bent in the hollow of his own right hand. As the light mist gradually floated up

into the blue sky, it rolled up like clouds of incense from the tall altars of the world. What need of speakers. I felt within my own soul a spirit too strong for words, proclaiming, that the Lord was indeed in his holy temple, let the whole world keep silence before him, and what a temple—

Staunton, Va. June 1st 1833

My Dear Brother—

The last letter I wrote you from Charlottesville on Sunday last, concluded with my intention to leave that place for the *Cave* on Monday. I was all prepared, but the stage did not call for me. This was for the time, a sore disappointment— But I rejoice at it now—For I concluded afterwards to visit Mr. Madison—I could not think of leaving that region without paying my respects to the most interesting man in our Country. Accordingly I agreed to accompany Dr. Conway²⁰¹ on Tuesday morning. We started about 6—and rode 17 miles, through a highly cultivated country (passing fields of wheat of from 300 to 1000 acres) to Gov. Barbers,²⁰² formerly our minister to England. Gov. Barber is one of the wealthiest men in the State. He owns 8000 acres of land—4000 under cultivation, 2000 of which is under his own direction—he has over 100 slaves. His residence is delightful, about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile from the public road, (like all planters houses). He has probably the finest Garden in Va. I was introduced by Dr. Conway. Gov. B. gave orders to have our horses put out. We did not intend to stop long, but the sight of his beautiful daughter, about 20—who has spent 2 years in Europe—been all over this country, over persuaded us—and we remained till dinner. The dinner was in true Virginia style. At one end, (before Miss Cornelia) was a large urn of soup—at the other, a large, fine Ham—on each side, a roast pig—a boiled mutton, and *fried* chicken, (the greatest luxury in the world)—besides jellies—

²⁰¹ Dr. Conway has not been identified.

²⁰² James Barbour (1775-1842) Senator from Virginia, 1815-25, Secretary of War 1825-28, Minister to England 1828-29.

potatoes, beets, etc, etc. At each end of the table stood a bottle of the finest, and oldest Maderia, I ever tasted—The desert was pudding—cherry pie—and strawberries, cream and sugar. We very reluctantly left Gov. B. about 4. It was now 10 miles to Pres. Madison. He lives about 1 mile from the road. His house is situated on a slight eminence—which commands a beautiful view of the Blue Ridge for half the Horizon. Dr. Conway did not accompany me to the house, as he was to ride 10 miles further that night.

I was furnished by Mr. Grimke with a letter to the Ex. President. I presented at the door—Mrs. Madison came to me. I knew her from the portrait which I had frequently seen. She is quite a large woman, about 50, and even now extremely beautiful. I presented her the letter—she invited me in—conversed with me awhile—then took the letter to Mr. M. After showing me the beauties of the prospect around she took me to Mr. M.'s room and introduced me. Mr. M. was lying on the bed—he shook me very cordially by the hand—spoke in a very firm voice, I felt as though I was in the presence of a *patriarch*. He is, you know 80 years old—his eye is bright—his voice firm—and his face scarcely wrinkled, tho, his cheeks are fallen. He has been confined to his house for nearly two years, by a diffusive rheumatism. His health is very much better. He walks about the house a good deal.

After conversing with him for nearly an hour I made a move to depart—but they would not hear to that, and come to look my horse had already been put in the stable.

I spent the whole evening till near 10 o'clock in his room, highly entertained and interested by his conversation. I took a glass of his rich old Maderia—shook hands with him as I went to bed. We did not get up till 7—and Mr. M. had been to breakfast. Mrs. M. and myself sat down to the table—fine coffee—cold boiled ham—herring—warm and cold bread and tea constituted the repast. Mrs. Madison is a very interesting Lady, and her manners are the most sweet, graceful and dignified I ever saw. She is almost worshipped by her friends, and loved by those who see her once. She showed me all over the

house—the busts of nearly all our great men—four portraits by Stuart. The walls of every room are hung with paintings and engravings.

It rained in the morning and as the weather was unsettled they would not hear of my leaving. I spent 3 hours in Mr. M.'s room—He conversed with great ease, and expresses himself with inimitable clearness and precision, on every subject.

My visit to Mr. Madison was worth the whole expense of my journey. I will be particular when I see you. I returned to Charlotte that night.

The next morning I was left again by the stage much to my chagrin, as soon as I got up I went down to the other Tavern—*cursed* a little bit—made them refund fare.—hired a horse (which will make my expense in this region one half less) for 6 days and the owner is to send for him at Staunton, and left at 10 A. M. on Thursday (yesterday) for Weirs Cave—30 miles distant—I lost my road 3 times, travelled 40 miles till I was tired to death—and stayed at a gentleman's house 2 miles from the cave—for which he would take nothing—reached the cave before breakfast—after breakfast, I explored the cave for more than four hours, and such a scene I never expected to see. It surpasses in sublimity the Falls of Niagara. You proceed more than a half mile underground, but such a succession of brilliant rooms—of grand columns you can form no idea of. I am writing a full description of it—which I will send you, and which you may publish if you please in the Review.

I left the cave about 12—started for this place about 2 and reached it about 5—distance 18 miles.

I spent the evening at Dr. Stribling,²⁰³ to whom I had letters where I met a small party. I shall leave here in the morning for the Nat. Bridge, horseback, 35 miles.

[Another letter]

I should not regret my visit to this part of Virginia if I could not carry back with me any thing but the recollection of the

²⁰³ Dr. Stirling of Stanton has not been identified.

last two days. I parted with Dr. C. at path which extends [through] the woods and brought me soon to the enclosing line of his plantation—the road to the house was an almost imperceptible rise through a fine waving and rippling field of grain—I approached the house with the consciousness of a supreme feeling—a mysterious kind of expectation—that I was to be introduced into the presence of the men of '76—the high souled, single hearted patriots of our best days.

I felt as though something not of the present time was to appear and so it was.

The location is extremely beautiful—there are but few trees in front of the house—but the house fronts on a most delightful view of the Blue Ridge, with luxuriantly wooded summit there cannot be a more delicious rest for the eyes. * * *

During the past two years, a diffusive rheumatism has confined him mostly to his room and bed. But his sickness has found all that alleviation, which judicious thoughtfulness could minister. It must be a peculiar felicity of his domestic life to have such a wife, to shed a “chaste and mellowing charm over the evening of his days” to minister with unwearying tenderness to his wants, to watch even his wishes.

After doing so much to give stability to the constitution—after having been so long in public life, he has returned to the ancestral home—his public labors over—having enjoyed all the honors the country could bestow for his patriotic devotion—to indulge in the blessed retrospect of a well spent and honored life, looking out from the loophole of his retreat for which he shall do much to make happy and prosperous. He lives with a patriarchal simplicity in his manners, the object of a nations graceful remembrance & affection, the loving monument of a heroic age of country—I was to see almost the last living relic of that age of great men—

I was conducted into his bedroom—I found him reclining on a bed, a book lying on the other pillow he wore a loose robe about him, and had a cap or handkerchief tied low around his head. I was surprised to find in a countenance, such a clear, fresh smooth complexion amidst the attenuation of such

extreme old age. His face was little wrinkled—time has planted one or two lines on the cheek, but it is with a light and reverential finger.

The eye still burns with that mild, bright light. I knew her from her numerous portraits—and her majestic appearance. Mrs. Madison is still beautiful—she wore a . . . around her head, and dressed high in the neck—It was a delightful thing to see this venerable two spending the quiet evening of their days—away from the turmoil—It was a rich luxury to hear him talk over the feelings of times to which he is almost alive if not a stranger—He conversed freely on some of the literary topics of the day, I was filled with delight and admiration by this uncommon display of the elasticity and strength of his intellect at his very advanced age.

High as my opinion of Mr. Madison was, I returned with with every point confirmed. There was an easy, transparent flow of conversation, so cheerful and so unambitious, as to make no demands on your admiration or allegiance.

There was an infantile simplicity in his manners. It was like an old patriarch—which put you immediately at your ease. He still enjoys the full and free use of his faculties, old age seems only to have shed, a chaste and mellowing charm over his thoughts and feelings.

His language was always simple—His manner is rather stern, but in conversation, they [*sic*] are lighted up by the most pleasing and winning smile.

The stores of his conversation were inexhaustible—He still takes an interest in his own Virginia—spoke of the scheme which is now agitating in Virginia, as opening a new artery through her constitution.—

Staunton Thursday June 5th

My Dear Brother—

This is probably the last letter I shall write you, unless it be one from Harper's Ferry and unless accidents prevent I shall follow close on the heels of this. Now that I have set my face homewards in very deed, my desire to reach there is feverish.

I do not intend however to hurry over much of interest that remains between here and home.

I left this place on the morning of Saturday last—rode 34 miles to Major Alexander,²⁰⁴ 2 miles out of Lexington where I spent the night. He is a brother of Dr. Alexander of Princeton. After breakfast I rode into Lex. It has the finest scenery I ever saw—The place is about as large as Farmington—attended church in the morning—took a seat among 2 beautiful Ladies—It happened very luckily that I had a letter to their Brother, Mr. Bowyer²⁰⁵—dined with Mr. Caruthers,²⁰⁶ a very intelligent merchant—in the afternoon I mounted my horse intending to ride out 8 miles, but called on the way at Mr. Bowyer, the father and read the letter, thinking it was directed to him and so introduced me to his family—He has one of the finest estates this side of the Blue Ridge—worth from 150, to 200,000\$. His mansion is situated on an eminence near the centre of it. I found it impossible to get away till the next morning at 10. I reached the Natural Bridge early in the afternoon, it is 14 miles from Lexington. This Bridge is about the greatest single view I ever saw. It crosses a deep chasm 300 ft. deep and about 200 ft. wide. The height from the water to what would be the keystone of the arch is about 240 ft. The arch springs up as gracefully and as smoothly as though it had been built after the nicest rules of art, and yet there it stands “rock ribbed and ancient as the Sun” and not made with hands. As you look up from below, a man looks not larger than an infant on the brow of the arch. This Bridge is used as a great thoroughfare. I will describe it minutely on my return. I spent two hours on the Bridge, there had been 30 visitors there before me. I was now within 150 miles of the Peaks of Otter, the highest land South of the Delaware in the U. States, and I could not turn my back upon them—So about 5 P. M., I started off through a little byepath for a ferry on James River 5 miles

²⁰⁴ Major John Alexander lived in Fincastle (d. 1853) see James W. Alexander's "Life of Archibald Alexander," p. 530.

²⁰⁵ Bowyer lived in Fincastle.

²⁰⁶ Mr. Caruthers has not been identified.

distant crossing that I passed on 3 miles over bad roads and put up over night at a Mr. Owens ²⁰⁷—He told me many anecdotes of John Randolph, and Jefferson—These Virginians wont take anything for their hospitality—So about 4 or 5, I started up the mountain—The road lay along or rather across a brisk noisy stream which I crossed 27 times before I reached its source, sometimes plunging in up to the horses belly—It is unpassable after a rain—The roads were hardly passable as it was—I reached the top of the “pass” between the two peaks about 9 and there they stood with their summits in the clouds—It was unfortunate a thick mist lay upon the whole country, but about eleven the sun began to disperse the clouds, I commenced the ascent 1 mile “right up”—I rode part of the way—The top is not more than 15 ft. diameter, and is covered with fragments of rock—one fragment, weighing more than 1 ton was torn from its resting place, by means of gunpowder some years since—it crushed every thing before it—but at last plunged into a defile when it stopped— $\frac{1}{2}$ mile down.

When I reached the top I could not see 2 ft. before me—I wrapt myself in my cloak and lay down upon the rock vexed enough to weep—I remained there an hour and half and was just going down when a fresh breeze springing up gave no time to the vapor, and threw it into the most magnificent display I ever witnessed—It looked like an immense sea, and as it swept off, opening views into the blue sky, and the dark green of the earth, it was like the exhibition of a “new Heaven and a new Earth.” It lasted but a few moments. The clouds however exhibited their wonders for an hour longer, about 3 hungered and disappointed I descended the mountain, and after devouring in vexation, near a whole *fried* chicken I mounted my horse, and rode till near 9 in the evening, within 3 miles of the Bridge—It was so dark I could not get further, and I called on a very intelligent man to accomodate me and my horse for the night, and so he did, but would receive nothing. This is the way they do things in Virginia. I rode before Breakfast to

²⁰⁷ Mr. Owens has not been identified.

the Bridge, spent 2 hours in looking at it from every point of view with 2 or 3 strangers.

Rode to Mr. Bowyer's to dinner, bid the kind and beautiful souls goodbye—spent 3 hours in Lexington, seeing "folks"—then rode out 17 miles—I was fearful it would rain to-day, but by starting early I reached here 20 minute before a tremendous thunder storm came on. I shall ride my horse out to the Cave tonight, and take the stage to-morrow for Harper's Ferry at 12 o'clock—I expect to reach that place on Saturday night—and by the next Saturday night to be at home.

Harpers Ferry Sunday June 8th.

My Dear Brother—

I wrote you a few hasty lines from Staunton but as I have travelled with the mail, this letter will be likely to reach you as early as that, I rode out to the Cave again, after date of my last letter in company with the owner of the horse, who wished me to go along with him—visited the Cave and was as much interested as on my first entrance. I have got some splendid specimens if I can get them home safe—they will give you some idea of the beauty and splendor of its spar. I am afraid however the bad roads will break off the more delicate branches.

I took the stage as it came along 10 miles from Staunton. The road lay along the valley of the Shenandoah, which you know is celebrated for its fertile and well cultivated farms.

On Sunday, Barnard went from Harpers Ferry to Frederick, on Monday from Frederick to Baltimore and on Tuesday from Baltimore to Philadelphia. Wednesday night found him in New York whence he wrote his last letter.

My Dear Brother

This is my last, and it shall be short and sweet—I shall be home before Saturday night is gone health and life permitting—I reached this city this evening—I think I will look upon the

parade which the Jackson men are making for the Hero, tomorrow, and it may be on Friday—take the boat to New Haven early Saturday morning, and the mail stage for Hartford at night—

My health is good except I am tired this evening— * * *

He spent Thursday night in New York, Friday night in New Haven and was in Hartford before Saturday evening.

CROMWELL FAMILY.

A POSSIBLE CROMWELL CLUE

FRANCIS B. CULVER

Authorities disagree with respect to the origin of the Cromwell family of Maryland. The favorite hypothesis traces this family back to Sir Oliver Cromwell of Hichen Brook, Knight, an uncle of Oliver Cromwell, the Lord Protector of England. Sir Oliver had a son, Henry Cromwell¹ who, it is claimed, came to Virginia in 1620, returned to England, where he married, and had issue: William, John, Richard, and Edith Cromwell, the immigrants to Maryland.

There is *no evidence* to support this claim, neither is there evidence tending to substantiate a claim that the Maryland Cromwells were related in any degree, immediately or remote, to the family of the illustrious Oliver whose ancestral surname was originally Williams. It is fair to state, however, that Thomas Cromwell (1680-1723) of Maryland, a son of William Cromwell, the immigrant, gave the name Oliver to one of his sons.

There were other Cromwell families in England, as acceptable as any of the Hichen Brook line, albeit less renowned, among which we may, perhaps, discover the progenitor of the Cromwells of Maryland. A certain family bearing this surname resided in Wiltshire during the seventeenth century, and

¹ The baptismal name of Henry is "conspicuous for its absence," among the earlier Maryland Cromwells.

it possesses a special interest in the present instance by reason of the duplication of certain baptismal names, peculiar to the English family, in the Maryland family of Cromwell.

The latter settled in the Province prior to 1670. At least, two members of this family, William and John Cromwell, were in Maryland before that year, it is certain. The other two members, Richard and Edith Cromwell, arrived a few years later, perhaps. At any rate, the earliest mention of them in the provincial records is of a later date. We know that William, John, and Richard were brothers, and Edith was their sister.

The name of Cromwell, however, occurs quite early in the Maryland records. One Gershom Cromwell, planter, immigrated to the Province in 1653, accompanied by his wife Ann, and his daughter Rebecca Cromwell, and six years later patented a tract of land containing 300 acres, called "Cromwell." This tract is described as "lying on the east side of Chesapeake Bay, beginning at a marked oak standing upon a point called Cromwell's Point, near the mouth of a creek called Harris Creek . . . running to a creek called Island Creek, on the west side of said creek, running south and by west into Choptank Bay," etc. (Talbot County Rent Rolls: Annapolis, Warrant Book iv. 49, 239, 363). Gershom Cromwell was a witness under the will of Thomas Hawkins, dated 2 Oct. 1656 (Annapolis, Testamentary Proceedings III. 278). We know nothing further concerning Gershom Cromwell or his descendants.

In Virginia also, the name of Cromwell occurs very early. A certain John Abercromway [Abercrombie], of York County, Virginia, in his will dated 4 April 1646, mentions "my countryman William Crumwell" [Va. County Records (by Crozier) vi. 15], and a Mary Crumwell appears to have been transported into Virginia by John Nicholls, Northampton County, in 1655 (Greer's "Early Virginia Immigrants," page 84).

We shall notice first, the four Cromwells mentioned above, in the order named, and then direct our attention to the Wiltshire family already mentioned as showing the same baptismal names as the Maryland Cromwells.

WILLIAM CROMWELL OF MARYLAND

WILLIAM CROMWELL arrived in Maryland in 1667, according to his own statement. He appears first in Calvert County, but soon removed to Ann Arundel County, taking up land on

the south side of the Patapasco River, on the west side of Curtis Creek. He possessed lands also in old Baltimore County, where he resided, being known as William Cromwell "of Baltimore County." According to the records, on 8 Oct. 1679, "came William Cromwell of Baltimore County, and proved his right to 50 acres of land for transporting himself into this Province to inhabit twelve years since." A land warrant was issued to him the same day (Annapolis, Warrant Book WC. No. 2, 11.)

It appears, however, that on 4 June 1670, one Henry Hosier² of Calvert County, merchant, proved his rights to 1050 acres of land "for transporting into this Province to inhabit," twenty-one persons, among whom were William and John Cromwell (Annapolis, L. O. XII. 554). Again, on 11 March 1671, a certain Benoni Eaton claimed rights to land for transporting into the Province eleven "servants," among whom was one Will: Cromwell (*ibid.* XVI. 439). Benoni Eaton assigned his rights to George Robotham of Calvert County (*ibid.*).

Benoni Eaton was a ship captain, a member of the English house of Benoni Eaton and Company (Annapolis, Provincial Court Records, MM. 602), and styles himself in his will, dated 1 June 1675 and proved 31 May 1677, "Benoni Eaton of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey" (Va. Mag. XIV. 88). In 1679, Deborah Eaton of "Rederith" near London, widow, relict and executrix of Benoni Eaton, late of London, "mariner," is mentioned (Annapolis, *Liber* WRC-No. 1; 146, 155). I am not aware that any relationship between this Benoni Eaton and the Eatons of New England has been suggested. Savage mentions a Nathaniel Eaton (b. 1609), of Cambridge, Mass., who fled to Virginia, but returned to New England. He was a brother of Hon. Theophilus Eaton of New Haven, Conn., and had a son named Benoni Eaton, a Cambridge, Mass., man, who married Rebecca —, and died in 1690, according to Savage.

On 16 Dec. 1670, George Yate of Ann Arundel County, Md., Deputy Surveyor, for a valuable consideration, etc., assigned to John Cromwell and William Cromwell, both of Calvert County, planters, all his right, title, and interest to and in a certain warrant to the extent of 300 acres of land, the same being part of a warrant for 615 acres granted to the said George Yate on

² Henry Hosier was a witness under the will of Sampson Waring of Calvert County, in 1663. He removed to the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and was a "Commissioner" for Kent County in 1675, and a member of the Maryland General Assembly from Kent, between 1678 and 1686, the year of his death.

12 Dec. 1670. The aforesaid tract of 300 acres was patented by the Cromwells on 1 July 1671, under the name of the "Cromwells' Adventure." It was situated on the south side of the Patapsco, on the west side of Curtis Creek, in Ann Arundel County, being held of the Manor of Ann Arundel (Annapolis, Certificates and Patents xvi. 151: xiii. 80).

On 9 Oct. 1679, William Ball of Baltimore County, who "proved his right to 50 acres of land for transporting himself into this Province to inhabit seventeen years since," assigned his warrant to William Cromwell, by virtue of which the land was granted to the latter under the name of "Hunting Quarter," lying in old Baltimore County, on the south side of Patapsco River, and west of Curtis Creek, "to be held of the Manor of Baltimore." On 20 February 1679 (o. s.), George Holland of Ann Arundel County, for a valuable consideration, assigned to William Cromwell of Baltimore County, 34 acres out of a warrant for 760 acres. These two tracts of land, purchased and acquired by William Cromwell, together with the 50 acres granted him on 8 Oct. 1679, on account of his own transportation, were combined to make up a larger tract of 134 acres, to which was given the name of "Hunting Quarter" (Annapolis, Certs. and Pats. xx. 319: Warrants WC. No. 2; 11, 48).

In 1677, William Cromwell purchased "Mascall's Hope" (100 acres) from John Boring; "David's Fancy" (100 acres) from Rowland Thornburgh in 1680, and part of "South Canton" (84 acres) from Richard Cromwell, *et al.*, in 1682 (Balto. County Deeds IR-PP. 17, 50; IR-MM. 193). On 12 January 1681/2, "Philip's Fancy" (61 acres) was granted to William Cromwell and surveyed to him 1 April 1682 (Balto. County Rent Rolls: Certifs. and Pats. xxi. 499). The latter tract was sold on 26 Dec. 1700, by William Cromwell, Jr., Gent., son of William Cromwell, Gent., the original grantee (Balto. County Deeds HW-No. 2. 69).

The name of William Cromwell occurs in the Annapolis "Testamentary Proceedings" of 1679, to wit: On 12 March 1678/9, George Parker of Calvert County, prayed a citation against William Cromwell and Nicholas Ruxton, both of Baltimore County, "to render a true account of ye goods of Robert Wilson, late of the same county, deceased, which said citation was issued under ye seal, immediately for them to appear, 3 June 1679." Again, on 26 Sept. 1679, "came William Cromwell of Baltimore County, and shewed the Judge here that

Richard Mascall, of ye same county, deceased intestate, and prayed that administration be unto the said Cromwell given." William Davis and William Ball were appointed to appraise the estate, and Thomas Long and William Ball were Cromwell's sureties (*Lib.* x. 365: xi. 89, 198, 212, 315).

There appears to have been some sort of relationship or close friendship between the aforesaid William Ball,³ on the one hand, and William Cromwell and his wife Elizabeth (Trahearne) Cromwell, on the other. The former was a witness under Cromwell's will, probated in 1684, and one of the appraisers of his estate. Ball died in 1685, and in his will dated 10 April 1684, bequeathed personal property to Elizabeth Cromwell, widow of William, and realty in entail to her son William Cromwell, Jr. Richard Cromwell was a witness under the will of William Ball (*Balto. County Wills* i. 65). The Annapolis "Testamentary Proceedings" show that in 1685, Elizabeth Cromwell had become the wife of one George Ashman.

William Cromwell died in 1684. His will was dated 19 June 1680, and filed with the Court on 1 May 1684. He refers to "my executrix, by her maiden name Elizabeth Trahearne, now my dearest and loving wife," to whom he bequeaths a life interest in "Cromwell's Adventure," his dwelling plantation, with 100 acres adjoining called "Mascall's Hope." To his son William, a minor, he devises "Mascall's Hope" when he shall become "of age," and the dwelling plantation after his wife's decease. To his son Thomas, he devises the land on the west side of Curtis Creek called "Hunting Quarter," 134 acres. He mentions *his brother John Cromwell* in the body of the will, and in a codicil appoints *his brother Richard Cromwell* one of the "overseers" with John Willmot. The witnesses under the will were William Ball, Thomas Clark, and Elizth. (Edith?) "Geste" (Gist).

William Cromwell married Elizabeth Trahearne; perhaps, a second wife and, possibly, herself a widow. She married, *circa* 1685, George Ashman (d. 1699). On 6 Aug. 1706, the "additional account" of Thomas Cromwell, administrator of Elizabeth Ashman, deceased, who was executrix of George Ashman, was filed (*Balto. County Admin. Accts.*, ii. 245). William Cromwell had issue:

³ William Ball, who died in 1685, refers in his will to his wife Mary, who had, probably, predeceased him. Is it possible that she was the Mary Crumwell who was transported to Virginia in 1655?

- i. William, b. 1678; d. 1735; m. Mary Woolgist (b. 1674), daughter of Arthur Woolgist, of Whorekill Town, Delaware Bay, by his wife Margaret Johnson, daughter of Aaron Johnson of New Castle, Delaware.
- ii. Thomas, b. 168-; d. 1723; a Quaker; m. 1705, in West River Meeting (Ann Arundel County), Jemima Morgan, daughter of Thomas Morgan, and widow of James Murray.
- iii. Philip, mentioned in the will of George Ashman (d. 1699).
- iv. (?) Joshua, (according to certain authorities).

JOHN CROMWELL OF MARYLAND

JOHN CROMWELL was living in Calvert County in 1670, with his brother William, as we learn from the following certificate for land, issued by George Yate, the Deputy Surveyor: "Know all men by these presents that I, George Yate of the County of Ann Arundell, for a valuable consideration, etc., have granted, bargained and sold, etc., unto John Cromwell and William Cromwell of Calvert County, planters, all my right, title, etc., in a warrant for 300 acres of land, part of a warrant for 615 acres. Dated 16 Dec. 1670.

"By virtue of a warrant granted unto George Yate of the County of Ann Arundell, Gent., for 615 acres of land, bearing date the 12 Dec. 1670, 300 acres thereof being assigned by the aforesaid Yate unto John Cromwell and William Cromwell, both of Calvert County; These are therefore in humble manner to certifie that I, George Yate, Deputy Surveyor under Jerome White, Esq., Surveyor General, have laid out for the aforesaid Cromwells a parcell of land lying on the south side of Patapsco River, and on the north side of Curteus (Curtis) Creek in Ann Arundell County, called the "Cromwells' Adventure": Beginning at a bounded white oake standing in a fork of a branch of Curteous (Curtis) Creek, and running by the land of John Browne called "South Canton," west southwest 160 perches to a bounded red oake, then north northwest 320 perches to a bounded red oake, then east northeast to a bounded white oake of Richard Mascall's land, then south southeast to the first bound Tree, containing and now laid out for 300 acres of land more or less, To be held of the Mannor of Ann Arundell. (Signed) George Yate, D. S. (Annapolis, Certifs. xvi. 151). The "Cromwells' Adventure" was patented 1st July 1671.

In 1714, Joshua and William Cromwell made an equal division of this tract between themselves and, in 1725, Joshua Cromwell mortgaged his holdings (150 acres) to Benjamin Tasker (Balto. County Deeds TR-A. 329: IS-H. 181).

In one of the Baltimore County Rent Rolls the following entry appears: "‘Cromwell’s Adventure,’ 300 acres, surveyed 10 [*sic!*] Dec. 1670, to John and William Cromwell on the south side of Patapsco and north side of Curtis Creek (None of the Cromwells claims it)."

That John and William Cromwell were brothers is further corroborated in the testimony of one John Mash, given in March 1727: "John Mash of Baltimore County, aged about 60 years, swears that about 50 years ago [1677] he saw a bounded tree and that he was told by his master, *John Cromwell, and William Cromwell his master’s brother*, and John Broad, that the said bounded tree was the beginning line of Mascall’s Hope" (Balto. County Court Proc. HWS-No. 3, 6).

John Cromwell died, probably, before 1714, intestate. There appears to be neither record of his marriage nor name of his wife, but according to the late Wilson M. Cary, a careful genealogist, John Cromwell had issue:

- i. Joshua,^{3a} of Baltimore County, "son and heir": d. after 1748: m. Frances Ingram(?)

RICHARD CROMWELL OF MARYLAND

RICHARD CROMWELL is mentioned as the brother of William Cromwell in the codicil to the latter’s will, *circa* 1684, and was appointed, by the testator, one of the "overseers" in connection with the management of the estate (Balto. County Wills i. 72). He is referred to as "my brother," *i. e.*, brother-in-law, in the will of Christopher Gist (d. 1691), who had married Edith Cromwell.

The first record of the name of Richard Cromwell in Maryland appears a few years subsequent to the earliest mention of his brothers, William and John Cromwell. This may be accounted for by the supposition that Richard was a younger brother, or that he arrived in the Province later, or both. It is certain that he was of adult age in 1682, when he and Christopher Gist (*circa* 1655-1691), acquired from Robert Clarkson, 245 acres of land called "South Canton," lying on the south side of Patapsco River. In 1686/7, there was assigned to Richard Cromwell, out of a warrant granted to Thomas Lightfoot, a parcel of land called "Cromwell’s Addition" (160 acres), adjoining "South Canton."

^{3a} According to some, a son of William Cromwell (d. 1684).

Richard Cromwell was a witness under the will of his brother-in-law Christopher Gist, 17 February, 1690/1, and he appears as administrator of one William Cole's estate in 1691 (Balto. County Court Proc. F-No. 1, 94). In 1694/5, Richard Guest (Gist), "son of Richard [*sic!*] and Edith Guest, late of Baltimore County, deceased, comes in to Court and consents to live with his uncle, Mr. Richard Cromwell," until he arrives at the age of twenty years (*ibid.* G-No. 1, 379).

Under the Act passed 9 June 1692, establishing the Church of England in the Province of Maryland, Richard Cromwell was appointed one of the six original vestrymen of Old St. Paul's Parish, in Baltimore County, as the following record shows:

September Court 1693:—"Wee the Vestrie men for Potapsco Hundred met together att the house of major John Thomas [resolved] that att Pcttete's Old Feild was the most convenient Place for to Erect a Church, and also appointed John Gay to be Clerke of the Vestrie, Mr. Watkins, Absent. And att another meeting the Last Saturday in August att Master Demondedie's [Dimondidier's] did confirme the Aforementioned proceedings, Mr. Watkins also Absent." (Signed)

George Ashman	Nicholas Corban
John Ferry	Richard Sampson
Francis Watkins	Richard Cromwell. ⁴

At the March Court of Baltimore County, 1694/5, Thomas Lightfoot son of John and Ann Lightfoot, deceased, comes into Court and agrees to serve "Mr. Richard Cromwell" until twenty one years of age, provided that the said Cromwell take the estate of the said Thomas Lightfoot into his own hands, rendering an account of the same. So ordered (*ibid.* G-No. 1, 384).

Richard Cromwell appears in the list of Baltimore County "Taxables" of 1694, residing on the south side of Patapsco Hundred, with the following "taxables" on his place: namely, Wm. Barber, Jno. Eaglestone, Jno. Robinson, Edw. Russell, and two slaves (*ibid.* G-No. 1, 275). In 1696, he was one of the three Commissioners appointed on behalf of Baltimore County in connection with the matter of establishing the new boundary line between Baltimore and Ann Arundel Counties

⁴ Balto. County Court Proc. G-No. 1, 126.

(Balto. County Land Records IS-IK. 86). He was one of his Majesty's Justices in 1696, and was an incumbent of the same office in 1701 (Md. Arch. xx. 466: Annapolis, Prov. Court Proc. TL-No. 2, 322).

On 27 April 1699, Richard Cromwell, Gent., for love and affection, etc., gives personal property to John and Jonas Williams, sons of Jonathan Williams, and on 1 May 1699, he is a witness to a "deed of gift" from Elizabeth Gibson to her son Thomas Gibson (Balto. County Deeds, TR-RA. 343, 347). He was a trustee under the will of James Murray of Patapsco Neck (Md. Hist. Mag. II. 246), and on 30 Sept. 1707, administered upon the estate of Thomas Edmonds, at which date he "affirms" to the account filed (Balto. County Admin. Accts. II. 144). This affirmation does not, necessarily, prove that he was a Quaker, but may, perhaps, indicate that he had conscientious scruples regarding the taking of an oath.

Besides his land holdings already mentioned, there was surveyed to Richard Cromwell, in 1695, a tract of 200 acres called "Cromwell's Range" in Baltimore County, on the north side of the Patapsco, located on "Hunting Ridge." In 1699, Nicholas Fitzsimmons conveyed to Richard Cromwell 300 acres of land called "Cordwainer's Hall"; and in 1705, Richard Gist of Baltimore County, "Carpenter," conveyed to Richard Cromwell of Baltimore County, Gent., the land called "Gist's Rest" (Balto. County Rent Rolls: Land Records).

In addition to the above mentioned lands, Richard Cromwell in 1707 "was possessed" of the following tracts:—"Utopia" (214 acres), surveyed 1670 to Robert Willson for 1320 acres; "Long Point" (250 acres) surveyed 1682 to David Jones; "Welcome" (100 acres) surveyed 1684 to Charles Gorsuch; "Maiden's Dairy" (248 acres) surveyed 1695 to Thomas Hooker (Balto. County Rent Rolls), and "Content" (150 acres) surveyed 1682 to George Saughier, in Ann Arundel County (A. A. Co. Rent Rolls).

The will of Richard Cromwell is dated 17 Aug. 1717, and was proved 23 Sept. 1717. The original is still on file in the office of the Register of Wills, at Baltimore, Md. He leaves personal property to his "cousin," *i. e.* nephew, Joshua Cromwell, to Margaret Rattenbury (his granddaughter) and, in the event of her death, to Hannah Rattenbury (sister of Margaret): also, legacies to his "mother-in-law, Besson," and to Edith Gist, daughter of his "cousin" (nephew) Richard Gist by Zipporah Murray, his wife: he bequeaths £30 and a ring to his "cousin"

(nephew) Richard Gist, a ring to his "brother-in-law" James Phillips, and a ring to his "cousin" (nephew) Colonel Thomas Cromwell: he leaves £10 to Isaac Laroque,⁵ and wearing apparel to Nicholas Besson. To his eldest son Richard (*non compos mentis*) he gives one shilling, with provision for his proper maintenance: to his wife Elizabeth, and "youngest son" John, he leaves the entire estate to enjoy, equally; but if the wife shall marry, she is to receive her "third portion," and in the event of his son John's death, all is to go to Edith Gist, who is to care for the son Richard Cromwell aforesaid. His wife Elizabeth, and "youngest" son John, were appointed executors. The witnesses under the will were William Cromwell, James Jackson, and Jabez Murray (Balto. County Wills 1. 144).

The Inventory of the estate, amounting to £1512.13.5¾, was filed 13 Nov. 1717, and was approved by Thomas and Joshua Cromwell (nephews) as "next of Kin" (Balto. Inventories v. 299). On 8 June 1719, the account of "Elizabeth and John Cromwell, executors of Richard Cromwell, late of Baltimore County, deceased," was rendered, wherein they charge themselves with the estate heretofore exhibited in the Prerogative Court, amounting in "currency" to £1512.13.5¾, and also with sterling money in England due the estate £389.8.4 or, in "currency" £519.4.5, and with tobacco made on the plantation amounting, in "currency," to £169.19.8. Payments are credited as having been made to John Rattenbury, Margaret Rattenbury (on account of legacy left to her), to Nicholas Besson (on account of legacy to Margaret Besson), to Richard Gist and his daughter, to Joshua Cromwell and to Isaac Laroque (Balto. Co. Admin. Accts. 1. 158). Elizabeth Cromwell makes "affirmation" to the correctness of the aforesaid account, which may indicate that she was a Quaker, or at least had scruples concerning the taking of an oath.

There is a probability that Richard Cromwell married more than once, for he refers in his will to a "brother-in-law" James Phillips. As he also refers to his "mother-in-law Besson" (*i. e.* Margaret Besson, wife of Thomas Besson, and daughter of George Saughier, through whom the tract of land, in Ann Arundel County, called "Content," evidently fell to Richard Cromwell), it is apparent that his last wife, Elizabeth, who sur-

⁵ Formerly a "servant" of Richard Cromwell (Balto. Co. Court Proc. HWS-No. 4, 243).

vived him, was a daughter of Thomas Besson. She was, doubtless, much younger than her husband.

Richard Cromwell had issue:

- i. Richard, *non compos*, unmarried.
- ii. John, d. 5 Aug. 1733: m. Hannah Rattenbury, daughter of Dr. John Rattenbury, of Baltimore County, Md.

EDITH CROMWELL OF MARYLAND

Edith Cromwell was born, probably, about 1660, and was, therefore, quite young when her brothers, William and John Cromwell, settled in Maryland. She married (1) about 1682, Christopher Gist (1655-1691): (2) about 1692, Joseph Williams (1660-1693): (3) about 1693, John Beecher.

On 14 June 1682, Christopher Gist, with Edith his wife, and Richard Cromwell, deed to William Cromwell part of "South Canton" (Balto. County Deeds IR-MM. 193).

In March 1692/3, Edith Williams of Baltimore County, widow, deeds to her son Richard Gist (Balto. County Court Proc. F-No. 1, 360).

In March 1694/5, Richard Guest (Gist), son of Christopher and Edith Guest, late of Baltimore County, comes into Court and consents to live with his uncle "Mr. Richard Cromwell," until 20 years of age (*ibid.* G-No. 1, 379). He was, probably, apprenticed to learn the carpenter's trade, in accordance with a custom of Colonial times (Balto. Land Records IR-P.P., 192).

The will of Edith Beecher [*née* Gist], of Patapsco River, Baltimore County, was dated 23 May 1694 (date of filing in Court is unrecorded). She left her son Richard Gist to the care of her brother Richard Cromwell and Thomas Staley, "to be put to school," etc. (Baldwin's Md. Calendar of Wills iv. 240: Balto. County Court Proc. G-No. 1, 543). Mrs. Edith (Cromwell) Beecher died about 1694/5.

On 27 Aug. 1708, was filed the second additional account, by Benjamin Williams of Ann Arundel County (administrator of Joseph Williams, of Baltimore County, deceased), of the "effects unadministered by Edith Williams otherwise Beecher," wherein reference is made to Richard Cromwell's guardianship of young Gist, son of said Edith (Balto. County Admin. Accts. II. 122).

Edith Cromwell, by her first husband, Christopher Gist, had issue:

- i. Richard *Gist*, b. 1683: d. 22 Aug. 1741: m. Zipporah Murray. He was styled "Captain Richard Gist," and was 54 years old in 1737 (Ann Arundel Court Records).

We are now sufficiently acquainted with the facts relating to the early history of the Cromwells of Maryland to enable us to consider the Wiltshire Cromwell family, wherein a strikingly similar group of baptismal names will be noticed.

JOHN CROMWELL OF WILTSHIRE, ENGLAND

The will of JOHN CROMWELL, of Malmesbury, Wilts, is dated 23 Dec. 1639. He desires to be buried in the churchyard of St. Paul's, in the borough of Malmesbury, and then proceeds to make the following bequests: "To my wife Edith, part of the house I dwell in nexte the Forestreete; viz., the halle, entrey, shoppe and Buttermey w'th. Rooms over same, with the garden access to the Backside and to the well for Water, so long as shee the said Edith keep herself in my name, if shee shall not outlive the lease from the Burgess and Burrow of Malmesbury.

"To said Edith also four of the best kine, the best Bedd and furniture, the great Kettle and middle post, all the pewter she brought when I was married to her, all the wood in the Backarde, 100 of cheese and 2 quarters of malte, two fitches of Bacon, and the best fatted Pigg, the Table Board in the Halle w'th. frame, 2 Barrells, and use of the Presse in the Halle and all her apparell, lumes, woolen and all my household linen.

"To my sonne Phillipp, 40 shillings to be payd him att his returne into England: To John Crumwell, son of said Phillipp Crumwell, £5, and my will is that my wife Edith shall have use of said five pounds to breede and bring up the said John Crumwell untill he is fitt to be placed Apprentice: To Edith, daughter of said Phillipp Crumwell, 20 shillings.

"To my sonne Richard, the rest. My sonne Richard to keep the 6 kine, till 25th March nexte. (Signed, with mark) John Crumwell.

The "overseers" named in the will were Robert Arche, gent., and Thomas Burgess, yeoman: the witnesses were Roger Jarrett, Tho^s Burgess, William Smith. The will was proved at "Chipperton" [Chippenham], where the rectory of Great Somerford is located, on 19 February 1639/1640. The inventory of the estate, dated 20 January 1639/40, was exhibited, on the same day the will was filed, by the aforesaid "overseers" and amounted to £204.16.4 (Archdeaconry of Wilts, filed Wills, 1639, old No. 53).

In the Malmesbury Abbey Church Registers, the originals of which I have had copied, is the following entry under the "Burials": "Buryed ye 27th of December [1639] John Cromwell of this Towne, one of ye Chiefe Burgesses."

The expression "Chief Burgess" is probably the same as the strictly local term of "capital burgess." It refers to the holders of land granted by King Athelstan (died 940 A. D.), to the men of Malmesbury. There are twenty-four capital Burgesses, and they hold a larger section or allotment of land than the ordinary Commoners. There is a field in Great Somerford, Wilts, that is still called "Cromwell's Leaze."

John Cromwell⁶ of Malmesbury, Wilts, died *circa* 25 Dec. 1639: m. Edith⁶ —, and had issue:

- i. William⁶ (perhaps), bpt. 20 Oct. 1605, at Great Somerford, Wilts (no further record).
- ii. Philip⁶ b. 1610, or 1612, at Malmesbury, Wilts: d. 30 March 1693, at Salem, Massachusetts: m. (1) Margaret — (d. July 1634, at Malmesbury, Wilts): m. (2) 22 Jany. 1634/5, at Malmesbury, Eleanor Cooper: m. (3) Dorothy — (1607-1673), in Massachusetts: m. (4) Mary — (1611-1683), in Massachusetts: m. (5) Margaret — (*vide infra*).
- iii. Richard⁶, married Elizabeth —, sister of Margaret Baynam (d. 10 Dec. 1642, at Malmesbury). He had a daughter, Mary, bpt. 23 Jany. 1641/2, at Malmesbury. There is no later record of him in the Malmesbury records.
- iv. Thomas⁶ b. *circa* 1617 (?), at Malmesbury, Wilts: d. 17 March 1686, at Salem, Massachusetts: m. *circa* 1640, Anne —, at Malmesbury (*vide infra*).

PHILIP CROMWELL OF WILTSHIRE, ENGLAND, AND SALEM, MASS.

PHILIP CROMWELL, son of John Cromwell (d. 1639) of Wiltshire, was born *circa* 1610-1612, at Malmesbury, Wilts. His age is given as "about 50 years" in 1664, "about 74 years" in 1686 (Essex Institute Hist. Coll. viii. 26: New England H. and G. Register vi. 249), and his gravestone gives his death as occurring 30th March 1693, at the age of 83 years.

He was evidently in New England at the date of his father, John Cromwell's will, 23 Dec. 1639. He had a wife Eleanor (*née* Cooper), whom he had abandoned in England, with her infant son John Cromwell. Both mother and child were domiciled at the home of her father-in-law at Malmesbury.

Philip Cromwell was bequeathed only 40 shillings by his father, "to be payd him att his retorne into England." It is

⁶ The reader will notice the recurrence of each of these names among the earliest generations of the Maryland Cromwells.

probable that he had left England *circa* 1639 on account of a certain marital indiscretion.⁷ He was, it appears, a "gay blade," and was married five times. On 3rd of 12th month, 1643, Richard Cromwell and others were presented by the Salem, Mass., Grand Jury for living absent from their wives, and according to the Salem Court Records, on 5 Sept. 1647, Richard Cromwell is mentioned as "living from his wife 7 or 8 years, and not sending her any relief for self or child he left with her." It was ordered that "he be engaged to go over to England to his wife, with liberty to returne if he see cause, etc., before December" (Essex Institute Hist. Coll. xxxix. 367).

Philip Cromwell's occupation is given as wheelwright, and also as butcher or "slaughterer," in Salem. He lived on the south side of Essex Street, between Derby Square and Central Street. In 1664, Philip Cromwell, butcher, conveyed to Major William Hathorne and Mr. Walter Price, feoffees in trust for his wife Dorothy Cromwell, widow of Allen Kenniston (or Kynaston), his house and "slater houses," etc. He was a "freeman" in 1665, and Selectman 1671-1675. He died at Salem, Mass., 30 March 1693, aged 83 years, according to his gravestone, and his estate fell to his only surviving child, John Cromwell.

Philip Cromwell married (1) *circa* 1633, Margaret —, who died and was buried at Malmesbury, Wilts, 15 July 1634: m. (2) on 22 January 1634/5 Eleanor Cooper, at Malmesbury. She died, probably, in England: m. (3) Dorothy —, widow of Allen Kenniston (Kynaston). She died at Salem, Mass., 27 Sept. 1673, aged 67 years (gravestone): m. (4) on 19 Nov. 1674, Mary —, widow of Robert Lemon. She died at Salem, 16 Nov. 1683, aged 72 years: m. (5) Margaret —, widow of John Beckett, who survived him.

His will, filed 4 April 1693 [*Liber* III. 105] mentions his wife Margaret, a brother Thomas Cromwell, and a son John Cromwell. Philip Cromwell had issue:

By 1st wife, Margaret:

- i. John, bpt. 11 July 1634: buried 31 July 1634, at Malmesbury.

By 2nd wife, Eleanor Cooper:

- ii. John,⁸ bpt. 26 June 1635, at Malmesbury, Wilts: d. at Salem, Mass.,

⁷ "Anne Bunch ye base borne Daughter of Ideth Bunch & ye reputed father is Richard Crumwell was baptized the XXVIII Februarie 1638/9" (Malmesbury Abbey Register).

⁸ Savage incorrectly credits this child to Philip Cromwell's wife, Dorothy Cromwell.

30 Sept. 1700, aged "near 65 years" (gravestone): married, at Salem, Mass., Hannah, daughter of Jacob Barney, Sr., who survived her husband.

[There was a John Cromwell, with wife Milicent (d. 25 May 1656, at Malmesbury)].

iii. Edith, bpt. 9 July 1637: buried 27 May 1642, at Malmesbury.

THOMAS CROMWELL OF WILTSHIRE, ENGLAND, AND SALEM, MASS.

Thomas Cromwell, son of John Cromwell (d. 1639) of Wiltshire, was born *circa* 1617, at Malmesbury, Wilts. His age is given as 43 years in 1660 (New England H. and G. Register vi. 249). He died 17 March 1686 at Salem, Mass.

"Thomas Cromwell came over later than his elder brother Philip, and in company of his nephew John, whose estates his daughters inherited: *Viz.*, (i) Ann, who m. (1) Benjamin Ager: m. (2) in 1672, David Phippen: (ii) Jane, who married 1665/6, Jonathan Pickering. Thomas Cromwell is called a tailor, in the deed records" (Essex Institute Hist. Coll. xxxix. 367, *et seq.*). He witnesses a will at Salem, Mass., in 1654, and Thomas and Ann Cromwell are witnesses in 1655 (New England H. and G. Register vi. 249).

Thomas Cromwell married *circa* 1640, Ann —, and had the following children, all baptized at Malmesbury, Wilts:

- i. Edith, bpt. 8 Jany. 1643/4: d. 2 February 1643/4, at Malmesbury.
- ii. Thomas, bpt. 16 Sept. 1645, at Malmesbury: d. 16 March 1663, at Salem, Mass.
- iii. Agnes, bpt. 18 March 1646/7, at Malmesbury.
- iv. Jane, bpt. 4 July 1649, at Malmesbury: m. 1665/6, at Salem, Mass., Jonathan Pickering.
- v. A daughter (? Ann), bpt. 18 July 1651: (?) married (1) Benj. Ager: (2) David Phippen.

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing, one may readily see the striking duplication in the baptismal names occurring in these two families—the Cromwells of Maryland and the Crumwells of Wiltshire. These names are William, John, Richard, Edith, Thomas, and Philip. It is true that the majority of these names occur also in the immediate family connection of Oliver Cromwell, the Lord Protector of England. In fact, some of these names are in more or less common usage and are not peculiar to any one family, but the name of Edith is sufficiently rare to make its recurrence, along with the other identical baptismal names, a

matter of some importance. When we consider, moreover, that John Cromwell of Malmesbury, in Wiltshire, left sons who had settled in Massachusetts a few years prior to the arrival of the Cromwells in Maryland, and if we may assume that Captain Benoni Eaton, who transported in his ship William Cromwell to Maryland some time prior to 1671, was a relative of the Eatons of Massachusetts, we may have an appreciable collection of circumstantial evidence on which to ground a hypothesis. On the other hand, the claim of the Oliver Cromwell relationship, when critically examined, vanishes into a thing of mist and vapor.

From the foregoing genealogical sketches, it will be observed that two of the recorded sons of old John Cromwell of Malmesbury may be eliminated as possible progenitors of the Maryland Cromwells. We have yet to account for a third known son of John Cromwell, of Wiltshire, Richard Cromwell, whose wife was Elizabeth, and who had a daughter Mary, baptized at Malmesbury Abbey 23 January 1641/2. We next find mention of him in an entry on the register a few months later, in a reference to the burial of "Margaret Baynam, the sister of Richard Cromwell's wife, 10 Dec. 1642." After this date all trace of Richard Cromwell appears to be lost. It may be noted, in this connection, that there exists a seeming tradition which claims a Richard Cromwell, of the Lord Protector's family, as the ancestor of the Maryland Cromwells.

There was, perhaps, a fourth son of John Cromwell, of Wiltshire, William Cromwell, baptized at Great Somerford, Wilts, 20 Oct. 1605. Beyond this reference, however, there appears to be no further mention of him in the local records. We may, therefore, conjecture the possibility of either Richard or William Cromwell, sons of John Cromwell of Malmesbury (d. 1639), being the parent of the four Cromwells who settled in Maryland in the latter half of the 17th century.⁹

I have had copies made from the Cromwell entries in the Malmesbury Abbey Church Register (1626-1670), and in the Bishop's Transcripts, at Salisbury, of the Registers of Great Somerford, Wilts (original records destroyed by fire prior to 1707). The entries are given hereunder.

⁹ A John Cromwell of Malmesbury, whose wife Milicent died 23 May 1656, is not accounted for. He may have been a son of John Cromwell (d. 1639), but this is merely conjecture. A John Cromwell died at Great Somerford, Wilts, in Dec. 1669.

CROMWELL ENTRIES IN MALMESBURY ABBEY CHURCH
REGISTERS:

- 1634: Baptized the 11th of July John Crumwell ye son of
Phillip and Margaratt Crumwell.
Buried the 15th of July Margaret Crumwell the wife
of Phillippe Crumwell
Buried the last of July John Crumwell the son of
Phillip and Margaret Crumwell.
Married the same 22^d day of January in the morn-
inge about nyne of the clock Phillip Crumwell and
Elnor Cooper.
- 1635: Baptized XXVIth of June John Crumwell sonne of
Philipp and Eleanor Crumwell.
- 1637: Baptized the 9th July 1637 Idith Crumwell the
daughter of Philip and Eleanor Crumwell.
- 1639: Buryed the 27th of December John Crumwell of this
Towne, one of ye Chiefe Burgesses.
- 1641/2: Baptized the XXIIIth of Januarie Mary the daughter
of Richard and Elizabeth Crumwell.
- 1642: Buryed Edith Crumwell the dr. of Ellinor Crumwell
the 27th of May 1642.
Buryed the Xth of December 1642 Martha Baynam
the sister of Richard Crumwell's wife
- 1643/4: Baptized the VIIIth of Januarie 1643 Edith Crum-
well daughter of Thomas and Anne Crumwell
Buryed the second of Februarie Edith Crumwell ye
dr. of Thomas & Anne Crumwell of this Towne.
- 1645: Baptized the 16th of September Thomas the sonne of
Thomas and Anne Cromwell of this Towne
- 1646/7: Baptized 18th Martii Agnis the dr. of Thomas &
Agnis [*sic!*] Crumwell of this Towne
- 1649: Baptized the 4th Julye 1649 Jane Crumwell the
daughter of Thomas and Anne Crumwell
- 1651: Baptized the 18 July 1651 . . . the dr. of Thomas
and Anne Crumwell.
- 1656: Milicent the wife of John Crumwell of Malmesbury
deceased May 23 & was buried May 25 1656.

CROMWELL EXTRACTS FROM REGISTERS OF GREAT SOMERFORD,
WILTS, (*taken from the Bishop's Transcripts, at Salisbury
Registrar's Office*)

- 1605: Baptized William son of John Cromwell 20 Oct. 1605
1619: Baptized Mary daughter of Richard Cromwell 4 May
1619
1620: Baptized Mary daughter of Richard Cromwell I Jany
1620/1
Buried Richard son of Richard Cromwell 24 June
1620.
1669: Buried John Cromwell 10 Dec. 1669
1700: Richard Freeth & Ann Cromwell married 24 June
1700.
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